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GENERAL EDITOR FOR THE OLD TESTAMENT
AND APOCRYPHA:—
A. F. KIRKPATRICK, D.D.
DEAN OF ELY

AN INTRODUCTION
TO THE
PENTATEUCH

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AN INTRODUCTION

TO THE

PENTATEUCH

by

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PREFACE

BY THE

GENERAL EDITOR FOR THE OLD TESTAMENT

THE present General Editor for the Old Testament in the Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges desires to say that, in accordance with the policy of his predecessor the Bishop of Worcester, he does not hold himself responsible for the particular interpretations adopted or for the opinions expressed by the editors of the several Books, nor has he endeavoured to bring them into agreement with one another. It is inevitable that there should be differences of opinion in regard to many questions of criticism and interpretation, and it seems best that these differences should find free expression in different volumes. He has endeavoured to secure, as far as possible, that the general scope and character of the series should be observed, and that views which have a reasonable claim to consideration should not be ignored, but he has felt it best that the final responsibility should, in general, rest with the individual contributors.

A. F. KIRKPATRICK.

PREFACE

THE aim of this Introduction is to give a general account of the critical problems which concern the Hexateuch as a whole, with a view to a more complete treatment than would otherwise be possible, and in order to avoid repetitions in the Introductions to the separate books. The special problems connected with each book will be dealt with in the separate commentaries.

The writer desires to make his acknowledgements to Bishop Ryle and Dr McNeile for valuable help and counsel; and to Professor Driver, who has read the proof-sheets throughout with the greatest care, and made various suggestions upon them, which in most cases he has gladly adopted.

A. T. C.

20 *April* 1911

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ABBREVIATIONS

OTJC[2]	The Old Testament in the Jewish Church, by W. Robertson Smith. Second Edition.
LOT[8]	An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, by S. R. Driver. Eighth Edition. The pagination is the same as in the 6th and 7th edd.
EHH	The early History of the Hebrews, by A. H. Sayce.
I.C.C.	International Critical Commentary.
J. Th. S.	Journal of Theological Studies.
Oxf. Hex.	The Hexateuch, by J. E. Carpenter and G. Harford-Battersby.
SHS	Dr Briggs' General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture.
DB	Dictionary of the Bible, edited by Hastings. (4 vols. The supplementary volume is referred to as vol. v.)
Enc. Bib.	Encyclopaedia Biblica. *Enc. Brit.* Enc. Britannica.
QPB	The Variorum Bible. (Eyre and Spottiswoode.)
Ges.-K.	Gesenius' Hebräische Grammatik (28th ed., by E. Kautzsch). English translation by A. E. Cowley.
BDB.	Hebrew Lexicon by Brown, Driver, and Briggs.

Other works are quoted in full when first cited, and subsequent abbreviations will be easily understood.

EVV., for A.V. and R.V. where both agree; cpw., compared with; the letter 't' after a numeral, as '6 t,' should be read—'6 times.' The mark † indicates that all the passages in the O. T. where the word or expression occurs have been cited.

In quotations R.V. is generally given; but sometimes another rendering has been adopted, especially in comparing passages together, in order to make clear the extent of the similarity in the Hebrew.

INTRODUCTION TO THE PENTATEUCH.

PART I.

The following sections contain a statement of facts concerning the Pentateuch and book of Joshua, and the criticism which has been directed towards them, which will serve as an introduction to the investigation which follows in Part II.

§ 1. Names and Titles.

THE tripartite division[1] of the Jewish Canon into the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings indicates three stages in the

[1] This division is as follows:

1. The Law, or *Tōrāh*, comprising Genesis—Deuteronomy.
2. The Prophets, or *N^{e}bhī'im*; which are divided into
   (*a*) the Former Prophets, comprising Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings,
   (*b*) the Latter Prophets, comprising Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve Minor prophets (Hosea—Malachi), reckoned as forming one book.
3. The Writings or *K^{e}thubim* (Hagiographa), comprising
   (*a*) Psalms, Proverbs, Job.
   (*b*) The five Rolls, or *M^{e}gilloth*, viz. Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther.
   (*c*) Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles.

Though MSS. and printed books present some variation in the order of the books in division (2) and a greater variation in division (3),

history of its formation[1]. The five books which occupy the first place in the Hebrew Bible, as well as in all versions of the O.T., owe their position to the fact that they were the first books read in public assemblies, and recognized as Canonical by the Jews. In the English and some other modern versions they are called 'Books of Moses,' but this description is not found in the original Hebrew, nor in the Greek and Latin versions. The title given to them by the Jews is *Tōrāh*, or Law, because of the legislation contained in them. The division into five books is older than the LXX.[2], and may have been made when the

yet 'the books belonging to one division are never (by the Jews) transferred to another' (Professor Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, eighth edition, 1909, p. i).

A different arrangement of the books is found in our English Bibles. After the Pentateuch, all the historical books are grouped together (Joshua—Esther), Ruth being placed after Judges. The poetical books follow, arranged in accordance with the traditional view as to their date, the three books ascribed to Solomon (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon) being placed together. The prophets form the last division, Lamentations being placed after Jeremiah, as being traditionally his work, and Daniel after Ezekiel. It will be observed that the variation of the order is caused by rearranging the books of the second and third Jewish divisions. This order is due to the influence of the LXX. version in which the books were rearranged (with the so-called apocryphal books intermixed) substantially according to subject matter; first history, then poetry, lastly the prophetical writings. This order, transmitted through the Vulgate, is found in English and other modern versions, only with the removal of the 'apocryphal' books to a class by themselves.

[1] The statement in the text may be verified by reference to works on the Canon of the Old Testament (see a list in *LOT*[8] p. i), especially that by the Bishop of Winchester, *The Canon of the Old Testament*, second edition, 1895, who says (p. 221) 'that "the tripartite division" gives no arbitrary grouping but is a trustworthy witness and an invaluable memorial of the historical growth and gradual development of the Canon.' Cf. Art. 'Canon' in *DB* vol. I. p. 349, and 'Old Testament Canon' in vol. III. p. 604.

[2] The LXX. translation was begun early in the 3rd century B.C.

Pentateuch assumed its present form. Each book was called a *ḥōmesh* or 'fifth part[1],' and the whole *Torah* was called *ḥ^amishshah ḥum^eshê thorah*, 'the five fifth-parts of the law[2].' The Greek title, ἡ πεντάτευχος (βίβλος) the five-volumed (book), refers to the same division; whence the Latin Pentateuchus and the word Pentateuch in English and other modern languages.

The Hebrew, Greek, and Latin titles of the books are given in the following table:—

	Hebrew	English rendering of the Hebrew	Greek	Latin
1.	*B^erēshīth*	'In the beginning'	Γένεσις	Genesis
2.	*V^ēlleh sh^emōth*, usually abbreviated to *Sh^emōth*	'And these are the names,' or 'Names'	Ἔξοδος	Exodus
3.	*Vay-yiḳrā*	'And he called'	Λευ(ε)ιτικόν	Leviticus
4.	*Bammidhbār*	'In the wilderness'	Ἀριθμοί	Numeri
5.	*Elleh hadd^ebhārīm*, usually abbreviated to *D^ebhārīm*	'These are the words,' or 'Words'	Δευτερονόμιον	Deuteronomium

The Hebrew titles consist of the opening word or words of each book, as will be seen by comparing the English renderings in the second column with the English versions. From the first words of Numbers, 'And the Lord spake unto Moses in the wilderness of Sinai,' the Hebrew word corresponding to 'in the wilderness' has been selected as the first distinctive word, and as descriptive of the contents of the book, but the book was

[1] Exodus is referred to as the second *ḥōmesh* in the Jerusalem Talmud, *Sotah* 7. 4 (21 *d*, line 24 of the Krotoschin edition).

[2] Jerus. Talm. *Sanh.* 10. 1 (28 *a*), *Ḳoheleth rabba* on Eccl. xii. 11, in many other places, and in printed editions of the Hebrew Bible.

also sometimes called *Vay'dhabber* from the first word of the book, the English of which is 'and he spake[1].'

The Greek translators gave a name to each book, indicating its contents, or some important event described in it. The name generally occurs in the Greek version. Thus *Genesis* (Γένεσις) refers to the creation of the world (Γ. κόσμου in A, and the word is found in Gen. ii. 4; *Exodus* (Ἔξοδος) to the departure from Egypt, and the word is found in Ex. xix. 1; *Numbers* (Ἀριθμοί) to the numberings of the people, and the word is found in Num. i. 2; *Deuteronomy* (Δευτερονόμιον) to the law contained in the book, and the word is found in Deut. xvii. 18. The title

[1] According to Jerome in his prologue. This great Biblical scholar and critic, after some years spent in revising the Old Latin version, began his new translation of the O.T from the Hebrew in A.D. 391, and finished it about 404. He composed by way of preface what he styled 'a Helmed Prologue' (Prologus Galeatus), in which he gave an account of the Canonical Scriptures of the Hebrew Bible. The exact meaning of this remarkable phrase has been variously explained; yet it seems tolerably certain that Jerome intended to signify that this Preface was to be his general apology for limiting his special work to the books of the Hebrew Canon, a limitation which would expose him to the assaults of many in the African Churches. By slow degrees his work, variously modified, became the 'Vulgate'—the *common* Version—of the Latin Churches. (Abbreviated from Westcott's *Bible in the Church*, p. 181.) This preface is still printed at the beginning of ordinary editions of the Vulgate, but in some earlier editions (e.g. that of 1498) it occupies its original place before the books of Samuel, as *præfatio in libr. Samuel et Malachim*. It is given in Excursus D to Ryle's *Can. of O.T.*[2] p. 299

The part referring to the Pentateuch is as follows:

Primus apud eos liber vocatur *Bresith* quem nos Genesim dicimus. Secundus *Ellesmoth* qui Exodus appellatur. Tertius *Vajecra* id est Leviticus. Quartus *Vajedabber* quem Numeros vocamus. Quintus *Elleaddabarim* qui Deuteronomium praenotatur. Hi sunt quinque libri Mosi quos proprie *Thorath* id est legem appellant.

Jerome himself describes his prologue as follows: Hic prologus Scripturarum, quasi galeatum principium omnibus libris, quos de Hebraeo vertimus in Latinum, convenire potest.

of the third book, *Leviticus*, has been chosen with a view to describe the ordinances contained in it, but these ordinances apply mainly to priests, and there is no mention of Levi or Levites in the book. The name given to it by Jewish writers, *Tōrath Kōhᵃnīm*, 'the priests' law,' is more appropriate.

The Latin names are transliterations of the Greek. The title of the third book in Greek is a neuter adjective, and some MSS. give the Latin name *Leviticum*, but the masculine form of the adjective (suggesting 'liber' as the unexpressed substantive) has been generally adopted. A transliteration of the name of the fourth book[1] occurs in Tertullian[2], but by the time of Cyprian it has been replaced by the translation *Numeri*. The fifth book preserves in Latin the neuter form of the Greek.

The English names are identical with the Latin for the first three books, but following the example of the Latin, *Numeri* is translated 'Numbers,' and the ending of *Deuteronomium* is modified[3].

Besides the Hebrew titles given in the table, other expressions are used by Jewish writers to denote certain books or portions of books. *Tōrath Kōhᵃnīm* as a name for Leviticus has already been mentioned. Deuteronomy is often referred to as *Mishneh Tōrāh*, 'repetition of the law,' and the Greek Δευτερονόμιον expresses the same idea[4]. According to Origen, quoted in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* VI. 25, the Hebrew name of Numbers was Ἀμμεσφεκωδείμ, which seems to represent *ḥōmesh* [*haf*]*pᵉqūdīm*[5],

[1] A variation in the order of the books may be noted: Melito, Leontius, and the Cheltenham list reverse the common order of Leviticus and Numbers. Swete, *Intr. to O.T. in Greek*, p. 226, and Sanday, *Studia Biblica*, III. p. 241.

[2] *adv. Marcionem*, IV. 23, referring to the Nazirite vow (Num. vi.), and IV. 28, referring to Balaam (Num. xxii.—xxiv.), as 'in Arithmis.'

[3] In German Bibles the Latin names are unaltered; in French Bibles the Latin endings are dropped, as 'Exode,' 'Deuteronome'; and 'Nombres' is a translation.

[4] See note B at end of this section p. 8.

[5] So in the Mishnah, *Joma* vii. 1, where Num. xxix. 7 is referred

i.e. 'the fifth-part [of the law] of [i.e. relating to] the numbered ones.' This title, like the Greek, refers to the numbering of the children of Israel.

Philo speaks repeatedly of the Pentateuch as 'the Legislation'; and in one passage[1] he quotes Josh. ii. 11 as included in this title. He also frequently refers to the Pentateuch as 'the Law,' and in one passage[2] as 'the Laws.'

For other titles see the lists in Prof. Swete's *Introduction to the O.T. in Greek*, pp. 198—216, and Bp Ryle's *Philo and Holy Scripture*, p. xix ff., and *Can. of O.T.*[2] Excursus D and E and p. 306.

Note A. The Name Hexateuch.

The book of Joshua is the first in the second division of the Hebrew Canon. But though this arrangement draws a very definite line between the book of Joshua and those that precede it, a close connexion both in structure and subject matter exists between them. The first stage in the history of God's dealings with His chosen people ends with their settlement in the Promised Land, rather than with the death of Moses. The promise is made to Abraham 'To thy seed will I give this land' (Gen. xii. 7) and frequently repeated to him and his descendants in the book of Genesis. The rest of the Pentateuch records the development of the nation, and its discipline preparatory to entering the Land. This record is incomplete without the book of Joshua in which the fulfilment of the promises is recorded.

'People and Land are the two leading ideas which beginning in Genesis are never lost sight of till they culminate in Joshua. Hence instead of the Greek name Pentateuch given to the *Five* Books, modern critics have adopted the name Hexateuch for the *Six* Books including the book of Joshua[3].'

to as ובעשור שלחומש הפקודים, 'And on the tenth' (the first Heb. word of xxix. 7) belonging to the fifth-part of the numbered ones, i.e. of the book Numbers.

[1] *De Migrat. Abrah.* § 32. [2] *De Spec. Legg.* § 1.

[3] The late Bp Perowne in *Camb. Comp. to the Bible*, p. 93.

Combinations of the books of the Pentateuch with other books of the O.T. were not unknown in the Christian Church. The name Heptateuch was given to the first seven books of the Bible, and these books together with the book of Ruth were designated the Octateuch. Nestle in the Article 'Septuagint,' *DB* IV. 447 note, observes: 'Greek MSS. mostly count Gen.—Ruth as books I—8, as ὀκτάτευχος; the Latin MSS. Gen.—Judges as *Heptateuchus*.' The eighth of the Latin lists given by Swete, *Introd. to O.T. in Greek*, p. 212, has a note after Judges—'Fiunt libri VII v̄er̄. X̄V̄ĪĪ C[1].' On this list see Sanday, *Studia Biblica*, III. p. 222 f., and other works cited in Swete, *loc. cit.* and pp. 123, 227, 346. Another list given by Turner in *J. Th. S.* II. p. 239 has after Judges—'hi sunt VII libri legis quos greci Eptatheuchos appellant...'[2]. Ambrose in his commentary on Ps. cxviii. (cxix. Heb. and Eng.) 162, 'I rejoice at thy word, as one that findeth great spoil,' refers to the Canonical Books as spoil found 'sine labore meo.' 'Inveni Heptateuchum, inveni regnorum libros....' Migne *P. L.* vol. XV. col. 1584.

The eighth of the Greek lists given by Swete, *op. cit.* p. 205, groups together Gen.—Ruth as ἡ ὀκτάτευχος; and the ninth, p. 206, from Lagarde, *Septuagintastudien*, II. p. 60, has in a separate line after the Pentateuch and Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Τέλος τῆς ὀκτατεύχου. Another list (*J. Th. S.* II. p. 238) has after Gen.—Ruth, 'hii libri VIII habent versus numero X̄X̄I̅ CCCCXIIII.' Other versions as the Armenian and Ethiopic have traces of the same grouping. No ancient precedent has yet been found for the name Hexateuch, but a close relation between the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua is implied in the words of the Talmud (*Nedarim* 22), 'If Israel had not sinned, they would be reading only the five books of the Law and the book of Joshua.' The ideal Israel has the Hexateuch for its Bible.

[1] This note gives the number of verses in the Heptateuch. See Swete, *op. cit.* p. 346.

[2] On the Lyons old Latin Heptateuch see *J. Th. S.* II. p. 305.

NOTE B. ON JEWISH TITLES OF THE BOOKS OF THE LAW.

These titles are of two kinds; either taken from the initial words of a book, or descriptive like the Greek titles. Which of these two methods of naming the books is the older? Descriptive titles seem more natural, and in accordance with the general method of naming books. The titles of the books following the Hexateuch (Judges, Samuel, Kings) are descriptive and in the N.T. a portion of the *Torah* is referred to as 'the Bush.' The method of initial words seems more artificial; but as it is found in the Mishnah, it was employed at least as early as the second century A.D. From a comparison of Origen's list, with its descriptive title for Numbers (see p. 5), with that of Jerome (p. 4 note), it might be inferred that initial words gradually supplanted descriptive titles, and that the process was not complete in Origen's time.

According to Ben Asher in *Dikduke haṭṭe'āmīm*, p. 57 (ed. Baer and Strack), the name *Sepher y'ẓī'ath Miẓraim*, i.e. the book of the going out from Egypt, was applied to Exodus.

Philo (*de Migr. Abr.* § 3, I. 438, Mangey's ed., § 14 Wendland and Cohn) states that Moses gave to Exodus the title Ἐξαγωγή (a bringing out, or going out) and commends it as suitable. Philo did not mean that Moses gave the *Greek* name to the book; but Ἐξαγωγή is the Greek translation of some *Hebrew* title which was of sufficiently venerable antiquity to be regarded by him as Mosaic. He may be cited as bearing testimony to the existence of a Hebrew descriptive title for Exodus, which was considered very ancient in his day. Was it the same as that given above from Ben Asher? It is not probable that the Jew borrowed his descriptive titles from the Greek, but it may be that Greek titles are due to Jewish tradition.

There are two passages in the LXX. where the word δευτερονόμιον occurs: (*a*) Deut. xvii. 18; *mishnēh hattorah hazzoth* is here rendered τὸ δευτερονόμιον τοῦτο. As most commentators have pointed out, the Hebrew words must be translated 'a

repetition (i.e. a copy) of this law,' and by 'this law,' the law contained in the book of Deuteronomy is implied; (*b*) Josh. viii. 32 (ix. 5 in cod. B); *mishnēh torath Mosheh* is here rendered τὸ δευτερονόμιον, νόμον Μωυσῆ. Here the Hebrew words must be translated 'a copy of the law of Moses,' and by 'the law of Moses' in this passage the law in the book of Deuteronomy is implied. The LXX. rendering of both these passages is inaccurate. But it may be asked, what led the LXX. translators to coin this compound word? If the title *mishneh torah*, given to the fifth book of the law in the Talmud and elsewhere, were an *old* designation, then Δευτερονόμιον, which is a good rendering of it, may have been adopted by Greek-speaking Jews as a name of the book, and a reason for the employment of the word in these two passages is apparent. The juxtaposition of the two words *mishneh* and *torah* suggested the word Δευτερονόμιον which was already known to them. If the LXX. translators, by using Δευτερονόμιον in these passages, intended to make reference to the book known to them by that name, then their translation, though not grammatically defensible, conveys the meaning of the original, for in both passages the law contained in the book of Deuteronomy is referred to.

It appears then that Jewish descriptive titles of the last four books of the Pentateuch can be traced; and the question may be asked, What descriptive title (if any) was given to the book of Genesis?

The work of Creation is often referred to in Talmudic literature as *mă'aseh b'reshith* (i.e. the work (done) in the beginning[1]), and more briefly as *b'reshith*[2]. Hence the book of Genesis, as

[1] See Mishnah, *Chagigah*, ii. 1. Dr Streane in his English translation of this treatise (Camb. Univ. Press, 1891) explains how the approximate date of passages in the Talmud, an important element in estimating its testimony, may be determined (see Introduction, p. vii, and Glossary; also Strack, *Einleitung in den Thalmud*, ed. 4, 1908, pp. 81—112, and Mielziner, *Introduction to the Talmud*, 1903).

[2] Mishnah, *B'rachoth*, ix. 2, 54 *a*, and 59 *b*. These benedictions are probably very old.

containing the account of the Creation[1], came to be called *B'reshith*, a title which referred to a portion of its contents as the Greek title Genesis does, but was also the opening word of the book. It is not improbable that a precedent was thus made for naming other books by their initial words.

§ 2. Plan and Contents of the Hexateuch.

The Hexateuch in its present form contains a history of the chosen People up to the time of their settlement in the Promised Land. The history is not continuous; some portions are treated fully while others are passed over with only brief comment. It may be summarized under the following heads[2]:

(1) *The ancestors of the nation.*

The book of Genesis may be regarded as an introduction, dealing with the period before the existence of the nation. A brief sketch of primitive history (Gen. i.—xi.) serves to connect Israel with the beginning of all things, and with the surrounding nations of the earth. It sets forth God as the Maker and Ruler of the world and of man, blessing the race in Adam, punishing disobedience by driving Adam and Eve from the garden, and, when the wickedness of man was great upon the earth, bringing the flood upon the ungodly, but saving Noah and his family and

[1] The statement in Ryle's *Philo and Holy Scripture* from Dr Pick, that in *Sanhedrin* 62 b, and the Jerus. Talmud, *Megillah* ch. 7, the history of the Creation in Genesis is called *Sepher Y'ẓirah* rests on a mistake. The Jer. Talm. of *M'gillah* has no seventh chapter; and in *Sanh.* 65 b (not 62 b) the reference is not to Genesis, but to a book which the context shews was of a mystical character. The error (which is due originally to Fürst, *Kanon des A.T.* p. 5) was pointed out by Blau, *Zur Einleitung in die heilige Schrift*, 1894, p. 47. It is doubtful whether the book Genesis was ever called *Sepher y'ẓirah*.

[2] As the introduction to each book will contain a full analysis of its contents, it will be sufficient to indicate here the main outlines of the whole.

making through him a covenant with all mankind. A list of foreign nations known to the Hebrews is given in the form of a genealogical table of the descendants of Shem, Ham and Japheth. Another table from Shem to Abraham connects the ancestor of the chosen race with the family that survived the flood, and the pedigree is further traced upwards to Adam in the genealogy of ch. v. From Gen. xii. the history is confined to the family from which the nation was to spring, 'when there were yet but a few of them, and they sojourners in the land' (Ps. cv. 12): the lives of Abraham and Isaac, the chequered career of Jacob, the exaltation of Joseph, and the circumstances which led to the migration of Jacob and his family to Egypt, fill up the remainder of the book.

(2) *The deliverance of the nation.*

The book of Exodus begins with a list of Jacob's sons who came down with him into Egypt, repeating part of the list already given in Gen. xlvi., and takes up the narrative at Joseph's death (i. 6, cf. Gen. l.). The growth of the nation from threescore and ten (Gen. xlvi. 27, Exod. i. 5) to a people that filled the land is passed over in a few words (i. 7). The narrative again becomes detailed in describing the oppression of the children of Israel under the new king (i. 8—22), and the events leading to their deliverance; the birth of Moses and his preservation, his commission to lead forth the people, God's revelation of Himself as Jehovah, and the plagues which follow upon Pharaoh's refusal to let the people go (chs. ii.—xi.). Regulations for celebrating the Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Cakes and for the dedication of the first-born follow, and on the death of the first-born, the children of Israel went out of Egypt in 'that night of the Lord to be observed of all the children of Israel throughout their generations' (xii.). Pharaoh pursued after them, but the Egyptians were overthrown in the midst of the sea (xiv.), and Moses and the children of Israel sang unto the Lord the triumph song over Pharaoh, his chariots and his host (xv. 1—21).

(3) *The instruction of the nation.*

The narrative goes on to relate how the children of Israel after their deliverance were led to Sinai, and while they were encamped there for nearly a year (cf. Exod. xix. 1 with Num. x. 11), laws for the present and future guidance of the nation were imparted. The Decalogue (Heb. *The Ten Words*, Deut. iv. 13, x. 4) was first given, followed by a collection of laws partly religious partly civil (Exod. xx.—xxiii.), and instructions for preparing the Ark, the Tabernacle and its vessels, for inaugurating the priesthood, and for offering sacrifices (xxv.—xxxi.). Further precepts (mostly of a ceremonial character) are found in Leviticus and Num. i.—x. 10; and after leaving Sinai (Num. x. 11, 12, 29), supplementary laws are issued at intervals during the journey (xv., xviii., xix.). When the children of Israel 'pitched in the plains of Moab' (xxii. 1), further enactments about offerings and vows (xxviii.—xxx.), the cities of refuge (xxxv.), and the inheritance of daughters (xxvii., xxxvi.) are recorded. The book of Deuteronomy contains another code of laws (Deut. v.—xxvi.) said to have been promulgated (Deut. i. 3, 5) by Moses in the 11th month of the 40th year, just before his death (Deut. xxxiv.).

To the body of legislation contained in the Pentateuch the Jews gave the name *Tōrāh*, and that name was transferred to the whole Pentateuch. The primary meaning of the word *Tōrāh* being instruction or decision imparted by prophet or priest, the legal enactments of the Pentateuch may be designated as 'the instruction of the nation.'

(4) *The discipline of the nation.*

The forty years in the wilderness are described as a period of probation appointed 'to humble thee and to prove thee, to know what was in thine heart whether thou wouldest keep his commandments, or no' (Deut. viii. 2). The record of the journey from the Red Sea to Sinai is found in Exod. xv. 22—xix., and of the journey from Sinai to the steppes of Moab on the Eastern side of Jordan in Num. x. 29—xxii. 1.

(5) *The victories of the nation.*

(*a*) On the East of the Jordan. As soon as the children of Israel cross the Arnon they enter on territory which is afterwards allotted to them, and the career of conquest begins with the victories over Sihon and Og the two kings of the Amorites. The description of the campaign is found in Num. xxi. 21—35, and (in words borrowed largely from Numbers) in Deut. ii. 24—iii. 11.

(*b*) On the West of the Jordan. The campaign on the Western side begins with the taking of Jericho and Ai. The Gibeonites by craft succeed in making a league with the children of Israel, and Joshua, coming to their rescue in fulfilment of the oath sworn to them, defeats the kings of the South. A combination of northern kings is put to flight by Joshua at the waters of Merom. These victories are recorded in Josh. vi.—xii.

(6) *The settlement of the nation.*

The assignment by Moses of the territory on the East of the Jordan to the tribes of Reuben and Gad and half the tribe of Manasseh is related in Num. xxxii. and Deut. iii. 12—17, and is referred to in Josh. i. 12—18, xii. 6. Before the land on the West is divided among the tribes, Joshua gives Caleb the portion promised to him by Moses because he 'wholly followed the Lord his God' when sent to spy out the land (Josh. xiv 6—15, which refers to the accounts in Num. xiii., xiv. and Deut. i. 19—40). The borders and cities of the lot assigned to Judah are then described (xv.), and the borders of the sons of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh (xvi., xvii.). Reference is again made to the inheritance of Manasseh on the East of the Jordan, and the commands of Moses with regard to the daughters of Zelophehad are carried out (xvii. 3—6, with reference to Num. xxvii. 1—11, xxxvi. 1—12). The remaining seven tribes receive their inheritance at Shiloh, and the city of Timnath-serah is assigned to Joshua (xviii., xix.). With the appointment of the six cities of refuge, and 48 cities for the Levites (xx., xxi., with reference to

Num. xxxv.), the work of allotment is finished, and the two and a half tribes, having fulfilled the conditions on which they received their land, are sent back with a blessing to take possession of it (xxii.). To this account of the division of Western Palestine (chs. xvi.—xxii.) is prefixed in ch. xiii. a description of the territory already assigned on the East of the Jordan, thereby completing the survey of the whole land allotted to the children of Israel.

The two remaining chapters of the book of Joshua (xxiii., xxiv.) contain Joshua's parting addresses to the people with an account of the covenant made by him with the people, and short notices of the death of Joshua, and of Eleazar, and of the burial of Joseph's bones at Shechem. This last notice (xxiv. 32, with which compare Gen. l. 24, 25, Exod. xiii. 19) and the frequent references, during the account of the settlement, to the injunctions contained in the Pentateuch, especially those in Deuteronomy, illustrate the close connexion in subject matter between the book of Joshua and the earlier books.

Some general remarks on the history may be made here:

1. It is a *religious* history, not a bare chronicle of events, but the record of God's gracious purpose for Israel and of the means whereby He brought it to pass.

2. Though the record is mainly a history of the chosen people, a wider horizon is opened out in the introductory chapters of Genesis (i.—xi.). Here the Ruler of the world is shewn as the same God who revealed Himself to the patriarchs as God Almighty (*El Shaddai*), and to Moses as *Jehovah*. Certain methods of His dealing with Israel are foreshadowed in this primitive history.

(*a*) The method of *selection*. The first contrast in the Bible is between Cain and Abel. God *chose* the sacrifice of the one, and rejected that of the other. He *chose* Noah as the righteous man in his generation, and preserved him and his family from destruction. The same method of working is illustrated at each stage in the patriarchal history; Abraham from the family of

Terah, Isaac the child of promise from the family of Abraham, and Jacob from the family of Isaac, are *chosen* as inheritors of the promise.

(*b*) The method of *deliverance.* Selection is with a view to rescue from evil, or, in other words, the election is of grace. God is set forth as the Saviour of Noah and his family from perishing by the waters of the flood; Jacob gratefully refers to 'the Angel which redeemed me from all evil' (Gen. xlviii. 16); Joseph points out to his brethren that their conduct towards him was overruled by God to preserve them a posterity in the earth, and to save them by a great deliverance (xlv. 7). The central fact of the history is the deliverance from Egypt. And when at the close of the journeyings Balak sent and called Balaam to curse the people, the Lord delivered them out of his hand (Num. xxii.—xxiv., Josh. xxiv. 10). The Lord defends His people 'in all dangers ghostly and bodily.'

(*c*) The method of the *covenant.* When Noah and his family again tread on dry ground after being preserved in the Ark, God makes a covenant with Noah and his seed after him. A covenant is also established with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with the nation at Sinai, and again in the land of Moab. And the *covenant* is with *promise.* That with Noah contained the promise that God would no more destroy all flesh (Gen. ix. 15), that with Abraham the promise 'To thy seed will I give this land' (Gen. xii. 7), a promise renewed at intervals in the history of the patriarchs and of the nation (xxviii. 13, xxxv. 12; Exod. iii. 8, 17, vi. 8). Consequently

3. The history is one of *expectation.* It is always looking forward to the fulfilment of the promise. Abraham's purchase of the cave for a burying place (Gen. xxiii.), Jacob's entreaty 'bury me not in Egypt but let me lie with my fathers,' and Joseph's commandment concerning his bones, rest on the belief that God would bring them to the land which he promised to Abraham to Isaac and to Jacob (cf. Gen. xlvii. 30, xlviii. 21, l. 24, 25; Heb. xi. 22).

4. The history shews *a unity of purpose.* It sets forth God as 'always mindful of his covenant and promise that he made to a thousand generations' (Ps. cv. 8). He hears the cry of His people in their affliction, and comes down to deliver them (Exod. iii. 7, 8). He bears them as on eagles' wings (Exod. xix. 4; Deut. xxxii. 11—14) from their infancy to their full growth as a nation, and plants them in the land that they may do Him service. In the words of the Psalmist:

'He remembered his holy word,
And Abraham his servant.
And he brought forth his people with joy,
And his chosen with singing.
And he gave them the lands of the nations;
And they took the labour of the peoples in possession:
That they might keep his statutes,
And observe his laws.' (Ps. cv. 42—45.)

The last verse brings into prominence the purpose of the history. Those for whom such great things have been done should 'keep his statutes, and observe his laws.' The purpose of the choice and call of Abraham is set forth in Gen. xviii. 19 (R.V.) 'I have known him, to the end that he may command his children and his household after him, that they may keep the way of the Lord....' The picture of God entering into covenant with the patriarchs, and mindful of His covenant delivering His people with a mighty hand and stretched out arm, is drawn in order to awaken trust and love in the hearts of the people. Moses at the close of the journeyings after reminding the Israelites how God had led them from the land of Egypt to the banks of the Jordan, puts the question—'And now, Israel, what doth the Lord thy God require of thee?' (Deut. x. 12), and the answer there given may be summed up in the words—fear, love, and service. And in the last chapter of the book of Joshua, the leader who has brought the people into the land, after reviewing their past history from Abraham, concludes with the solemn appeal; 'Choose you this day whom ye will serve' (Josh. xxiv. 15). The question and the challenge are addressed not only to Israel

in the plains of Moab, and at Shechem, but to every Israelite—not only to their forefathers whose eyes had seen the wonders of the Lord, but to the children yet unborn who should arise to tell them to their children:

> 'That they might set their hope in God,
> And not forget the works of God,
> But keep his commandments.' (Ps. lxxviii. 6, 7.)

The Hexateuch is a sacred history, told for the instruction in righteousness of succeeding generations. It contains the promise of the land made to the fathers, and the history of the people until the fulfilment of the promise, together with statutes and judgements to guide them in the land of their inheritance. The history is recorded to stimulate obedience to the law.

§ 3. The Origin of the Hexateuch.

Is this unity of purpose shewn in the Hexateuch due to unity of authorship? The answer to this question until comparatively recent times has been generally in the affirmative. Moses, the great leader and lawgiver, was regarded as the author of the Pentateuch[1]. For the patriarchal and earlier period, it was said, he had recourse to documents and tradition; the rest is a record of events with which he himself was closely connected—of the work which in obedience to the Divine commands he undertook on behalf of Israel. The laws are inserted in this record in the order in which they were communicated; at Sinai, in the desert, and in the plains of Moab. The last chapter of Deuteronomy which relates the death of Moses was from the hand of Joshua his successor, who continued the history of the Israelites up to the time of their settlement in the land.

But for more than 150 years, and especially during the past century, the authorship of the Hexateuch has been one of the foremost problems in O.T. research, and a numerous array of workers have minutely examined the Pentateuch and book of Joshua with a view to find out what evidence the books them-

[1] Compare the beginning of the next section, p. 25.

selves afford as to their origin, their literary character, and the time when they were written. The opinion that the narrative contained in them is composite, and that the laws which are inserted in the narrative belong to successive stages in the development of the Jewish nation, has been steadily gaining ground and is now held by a large and increasing number of scholars both in Europe and America. It has been expressed by W. Robertson Smith (*The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 2nd edition, 1892, p. 313) as follows: 'Mosaic Law is not held to exclude post-Mosaic developments. That the whole law is the Law of Moses does not necessarily imply that every precept was developed in detail in his days, but only that the distinctive law of Israel owes to him the origin and principles in which all detailed precepts are implicitly contained. The development into explicitness of what Moses gave in principle is the work of continuous Divine teaching in connexion with new historical situations.'

It is sufficient to indicate here in broad outline these two diverging views. The fact of the divergence necessitates further enquiry. In the following section a brief historical sketch of Hexateuch criticism will be given, but a few remarks may be made here, by way of introduction, on what is meant by criticism.

Criticism consists in a discriminating use of facts; it collects and classifies them, and draws inferences from them when classified. The range of criticism is more extended when applied to an ancient book, written centuries before the invention of printing and preserved in manuscript, than when applied to a modern printed book. Questions arise as to the text and authorship of ancient books which are definitely settled in modern books by the title-page and author's preface. The definition of criticism as 'the critical science which deals with the text, character, composition, and origin of literary documents especially those of the Old and New Testaments' (Murray's *New English Dictionary*, s.v. criticism) recognizes this wider field of enquiry as necessary for ancient documents.

The first care of the critic is for the text. When there is but

one MS. in existence[1], his task is limited to suggesting emendations where the text is corrupt. Most ancient works have been preserved in more than one manuscript, and the labour of the critic becomes more arduous, according to the number and character of the MSS. which he has to examine. Many and peculiar difficulties beset the Old Testament critic in his endeavour to ascertain the true text, especially of passages which are obviously corrupt. His difficulties, and his method of procedure, cannot be here described, but the reader who desires further information may consult Buhl, *Kanon und Text des Alten Testamentes*, an English translation of which was published in 1892; *A short history of the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament* by T. H. Weir, 1899; and Prof. Burkitt's Art. on *Text and Versions* in *Enc. Bib.* vol. IV. p. 5011 f.

The criticism described in these books has been designated Textual Criticism, while the investigation which concerns the literary character, composition, and origin of the books has been distinguished by the name of Higher Criticism. The term was first employed with reference to the books of the Old Testament by Eichhorn[2]. In the Preface to the second edition of his Introduction he says:

'I have been obliged to bestow the greatest amount of labour on a hitherto entirely unworked field, the investigation of the inner constitution of the particular writings of the Old Testament, by the aid of the Higher Criticism (a new name to no Humanist).'

His description of 'the higher criticism' as 'a new name to no Humanist' shews that he was introducing no novelty, but investigating the character and composition of the books of the Old Testament by a method already known to classical

[1] The Annals of Tacitus are preserved in one MS. See the account of its discovery and publication by Pope Leo X. in Jebb, *Essays and Addresses*, p. 509.

[2] Author of *Einleitung in das A.T.* which was published in 1780, and passed through several editions, the last being dated 1823–4. He died in 1827. References are to the third edition of 1803.

students. At the same time he refers to himself as labouring 'in a field which has hitherto been unworked.' The method was not new, but the application of it to the books of the Old Testament was attempted for the first time by Eichhorn. In another place he describes the Higher Criticism as distinguishing between the writers, characterizing each by his own method and diction, favourite expressions and other peculiarities (vol. II. § 424, p. 330). These words shew clearly the function of the higher criticism as conceived by the first Biblical critic who employed the phrase.

Though the term 'higher criticism' is not often used, the *method* is applied in dealing with other kinds of literature. The Dialogues of Plato, for example—is it possible by internal evidence to ascertain their historical order? Many efforts have been made to determine a chronological succession, and different theories have been propounded: the problem is one of 'higher criticism.' The Metaphysics of Aristotle suggest many difficult questions. By whom was the book arranged in its present form, by Aristotle or by others? Does it form a consecutive and continuous treatise? The Nicomachean Ethics V.—VII. agree verbally with three books of the Eudemian Ethics: which was their original place, and how far are they directly the work of Aristotle[1]? (Ueberweg, *History of Philosophy*, I. 108, 146, and Grant's *Ethics*, vol. I. p. 57). The Constitution of Athens recently discovered in papyri, is it the work of Aristotle or not?

Different answers have been given to these questions, and the material at our disposal may not enable us to solve them; but they are all problems of higher criticism, and are questions which it is legitimate to endeavour to solve. And in the field of Biblical research similar questions arise: the Epistle to the Hebrews, is it S. Paul's or not? (Notice the beginnings of higher criticism in Origen's remarks (Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 25): 'That this Epistle is purer Greek in the composition of its

[1] A similar question arises with respect to 2 Kings xviii. 13—xx. and Isai. xxxvi.—xxxix.

phrases, every one will confess who is able to discern the difference of style.') The resemblances and differences in the accounts of the same discourses and events in the Synoptic Gospels—how are they to be accounted for? The second Epistle of St Peter and the Epistle of Jude have remarkable similarities: which is the borrower? Are these and questions as to date and authorship of books of the Old Testament to be treated differently from those problems of classical literature which have been mentioned? They are akin in character and should be treated alike. Such was Eichhorn's opinion when he applied the 'higher criticism' to all the books of the Old Testament in his Introduction.

Words and phrases often 'lose the precision of their first employment[1].' Their original meaning is forgotten or unheeded, and a new and improper sense is assigned to them. So the term 'higher criticism' has been understood not as a criticism dealing with higher and more difficult problems, but as a higher and intensified form of criticism with an implied sense of superiority. When thus misunderstood, it has provoked hostile comment as being arrogant and ambitious. It has been confused with *historical* criticism, and also with speculative questions as to the origin of religious beliefs in Israel, and the extent to which surrounding nations may have influenced their development. Such questions lie beyond the province of 'higher criticism'; and many of the objections raised against the higher criticism are due to misconceptions of its scope and purpose. Its real function is (as has already been stated) to determine the origin, date, and literary structure of the books of the Bible by the same methods as those applied to any ancient document. The problems with which it deals are *literary* problems; and the investigations are based on material found in the Bible itself[2].

[1] Trench, *English past and present*, 10th ed. p. 300.

[2] The statement in the text does not imply that the critic is debarred from making use of *external* data in addition to those contained in the Bible. The allusion in Nah. iii. 8 to No-amon (Thebes) fixes a *terminus*

Most books when carefully examined will furnish the enquirer with material for determining the age in which they were written. An enquiry of this nature is unnecessary when (as in nearly all modern printed books) the author is clearly indicated; but ancient books preserved in manuscript are often without any certificate of origin corresponding to the modern title-page and author's preface. If an author's name appears on the manuscript, it may have been put there by the transcriber of the manuscript, or by some later owner or reader. The manuscript itself will bear witness to the transcriber's qualifications as a scribe, but further enquiry must be made in order to estimate rightly the value of his testimony about the author. In such cases the evidence of the book itself becomes of primary importance. What modern criticism demands is that due weight should be given to this internal evidence, to the witness which a book bears of itself[1].

When this claim is made with reference to the books of the O.T., it is regarded by many with suspicion because associated

a quo for the date of the prophecy which is supplied by Assyrian annals. The mention of Dan in Gen. xiv. 14 can be supplemented by a reference (in this case to the Bible) to Judg. xviii. 29 (see p. 41). The expression 'the witness which a book bears of itself' used at the end of the following paragraph does not exclude evidence furnished by comparison of the book with other data. Thus in the case of the Decretals, and the Epistles of Phalaris (referred to in the following note), the bulk of the evidence consists in the use of historical data supplied from other works: e.g. in the Epistles of Phalaris a city is mentioned which was not built until after the time of Phalaris. The criticism in all these instances is *based* on statements in the text of the work criticized, but the critic uses *all* data at his disposal in elucidating the text, and drawing inferences as to the date and origin of the work.

[1] As illustrations of the employment of this internal evidence, the reader may be referred to the controversy about the so-called Isidorian Decretals, and to the famous essay of Bentley on the Epistles of Phalaris. See the article in Smith's *Dict. of Christian Antiquities* on Decretals, Prof. Bury's review of Fournier *Étude sur les fausses Décrétales*, in the *Journal of Th. Stud.*, Oct. 1907, p. 102, and Jebb's *Life of Bentley*.

with (1) speculations relating to the origin of religious beliefs in Israel, or (2) certain assumptions (such as the improbability of miracles or prophecy) which prejudge the question in a sense hostile to the generally accepted belief of Jews and Christians, or because (3) some leaders of the modern critical school are of opinion that the religious development of Israel was a natural one, and may be explained without any assumption of divine revelation. But it is sufficient to note in answer to (1) that speculation of this sort, as has been already said, has nothing to do with higher criticism; in answer to (2) that the strength of any argument can be tested, and if vitiated by an *à priori* assumption, its weakness can be exposed; and in answer to (3) that in order to test any special exercise of criticism, one must put the question, Is the inference sound? does it afford a satisfactory explanation of the facts? The further question, Is the critic orthodox? is irrelevant. That it should be put at all is due to confusion between *testimony* and *argument*. Testimony is personal, argument is independent of person. It is right to enquire about the character of a witness before accepting his *testimony*; an *argument*, whether advanced by friend or foe, must be weighed and answered. The strength and value of an argument does not depend upon the character of him who produces it[1].

The remarks of Robertson Smith (*OTJC*[2], p. 314) on the service done by scholars indifferent to the religious value of the Bible should be read. His conclusion may be given here: 'It is easier to correct the errors of a rationalism with which we have no sympathy, than to lay aside prejudices deeply interwoven with our most cherished and truest convictions.'

Sound criticism, from whatever quarter it may proceed, contributes towards the establishment of truth; when applied

[1] In *The Problem of the O.T.* Dr Orr agrees (p. 15) in theory with the view here set forth, but in practice he disregards it, both in his Introductory Chapter, and on other occasions in the course of his work. See pp. 10—13, 17, 196 note 1.

to the Bible, it can only bring out into stronger relief the Divine message contained in it[1].

[1] The reader may consult the three papers on the Higher Criticism by Dr Driver and Dr Kirkpatrick, reprinted together in 1905, for further information on the aims and methods of the Higher Criticism. Also an article by Dr Driver in the *Contemporary Review*, Feb. 1890, reprinted as No. 21 of *Essays for the Times*, London, F. Griffiths, with a useful list of books bearing on the critical study of the O. T., among which Dr Briggs' *General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture* may be especially mentioned.

Although the terms textual, literary, and historical indicate three main divisions of criticism which are generally recognized, it should be pointed out that in some cases it is difficult to draw a sharp line between them. In textual criticism cases occur in which an appeal is made even against the reading of all documents (Westcott and Hort, *Introduction to the New Testament* §§ 85—92 and pp. 279—282, and note the remark 'The question which these passages raise is rather literary than textual' p. 282). In literary criticism it is not easy to separate the form from the matter. In investigating the authorship of Isaiah, the theology of the different parts must be considered; the references to the exile and the mention of Cyrus are facts to be weighed; and some would hesitate before deciding whether parts of the investigation should be assigned to the literary or historical department of criticism. In examining the laws contained in the Pentateuch, progress and difference of date may be inferred without bringing in any historical reference. Is such an examination literary or historical?

Some would understand by historical criticism an enquiry into the credibility of the document under examination, and an estimate of its value as a contribution to history. Others use the term in a wider sense. The history of Hexateuch criticism traced in the following section will shew two distinct lines of investigation—one which aimed at separating documents, another which endeavoured to arrange them in chronological order. These two lines of investigation have been distinguished as the literary method, and the historical method, and they are so designated in the following section. But the reader who consults the works there referred to will find that sometimes the same writer will employ arguments both of a literary and of a historical character.

§ 4. Sketch of Hexateuch Criticism.

1. *Early Jewish and Christian writers.* For some time before the Christian era, the opinion that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch was generally accepted. In the 1st century A.D. Philo, who flourished in the first half of that period, 'ascribes to the Pentateuch the highest degree of Divine authority, and in honour of Moses as the writer of the Sacred Books and as the prophet-founder of the Israelite Law he lavishes every variety of eulogy' (Ryle, *Philo and Holy Scripture*, p. xvii, where passages in illustration are quoted). Josephus, whose works were composed in the latter half of the century, in his account of the books of the O.T. (*Against Apion*, I. 8), puts in the first place 'five books of Moses.' The writers of the N.T. refer to the 'law of Moses,' introduce passages from the Pentateuch with the words 'Moses wrote,' and shew by these and similar expressions that they followed the commonly accepted opinion of their age. Christian writers of succeeding generations followed Jewish tradition with respect to the authorship of different books of the O.T., so that the five books of the Law were received as 'Books of Moses' in the Christian Church.

Along with this acceptance of Mosaic authorship is found a stream of ecclesiastical tradition which ascribes to Ezra an important work in restoring the books of the O.T. This tradition[1], probably founded on the passage in 4 Esdras xiv. 39 ff. (2 Esdras in A.V. and R.V.)[2], is generally expressed in words which imply that Ezra, by a Divine illumination of his memory, re-wrote the books which had been destroyed (burnt, *v.* 21) at the time of the captivity[3]. Some fathers (e.g. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* i. 21, 22) attribute to Ezra

[1] For a full discussion, see Ryle, *Can. of O. T.*[2], Excursus A, pp. 250 ff., *LOT*[8], pp. iv ff., and Robertson Smith, *OTJC*[2], p. 151.

[2] The book is generally assigned to the close of the first century A.D.

[3] According to 4 Esdras xiv. he re-wrote also apocryphal books, to which the writer attaches a higher value than to the Canonical books!

a renovation as well as a re-writing of the sacred scriptures. To what extent the view of Mosaic authorship was modified in certain phases of this tradition is not clear. No attempt was made to distinguish between the work of Moses and that of Ezra; nor did the doubts raised by a few writers[1] in early Christian times materially affect the prevailing opinion that Moses was the author of the five books of the Law.

ii. *The first questionings.* Jewish writers of the middle ages drew attention to certain passages in the Pentateuch which seemed to be of post-Mosaic date. In the first part of the twelfth century, Ibn Ezra (†1167), commenting on the words, 'The Canaanite was then in the land' (Gen. xii. 6, xiii. 7) observes, 'It appears that Canaan had already taken the land of Canaan from others.' Apparently he is not satisfied with this explanation, for he adds, 'but if it is not so, I have a secret, but the prudent man will keep quiet.' His meaning is obvious. The words 'The Canaanite was then in the land' are those of a writer who lived when the Canaanite was no longer in the land. From Josh. xvi. 10, Judg. i. 27—33, 2 Sam. xxiv. 7, 1 Ki. ix. 16, it appears that the Canaanites remained in parts of the land till the time of Solomon. Ibn Ezra suggests that this comment must be assigned to a period later than that of Solomon. But he knows how dangerous it is to incur the suspicion of heterodoxy, and contents himself with putting forth a riddle, the solution of which he leaves to the reader.

His caution was justified; for the above remark and a few others expressed in the same cryptic manner drew from one of his Jewish brethren the remark, 'may melted gold be poured into his mouth[2].' As with the synagogue so with the Church: to impugn tradition was perilous in both, for the time of free speech was not yet.

The intellectual movement of the 15th century, called the Renaissance, or the Revival of Learning, did not at first concern

[1] For details see *Oxf. Hex.*, vol. I. ch. iii. p. 21, and Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch*, p. 25.

[2] Holzinger, *Einleitung*, p. 29.

itself with the problem of the Pentateuch. Its chief work was to bring within reach of the student, through the agency of the printing press, what had hitherto been locked up in libraries or possessed only by men of wealth. Besides the literature of ancient Greece and Rome, the Bible[1] in Latin, Hebrew, and Greek was by this means rendered accessible, and also the writings of some of the Fathers. The claim to include Hebrew in the rapidly widening area of knowledge had hardly been conceded, when Europe became agitated by the controversies of the Reformation[2]. Attention was now mainly directed towards the struggle, both doctrinal and political, between Catholic and Protestant. Occasionally during the 16th, and more frequently during the following century, the Pentateuch was examined with the view of finding in it some testimony with respect to its origin.

The criticism of this period was mainly negative. Ibn Ezra's objections were repeated, and others of a similar character were brought forward, but little that proved to be of permanent value was suggested. This stage of the enquiry may be described as *preliminary*; the traditional belief had been questioned, and the need of further investigation became evident.

iii. *The beginnings of criticism. Simon and Astruc.* The first positive contribution of criticism towards the solution of the problem was made by Father Simon, a priest of the Oratory (*Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*, 1678, an English translation of which was published 1682). He drew attention to the existence of *duplicate accounts of the same event* in the book of Genesis, and in illustration referred to the two narratives of the

[1] The munificence of Cardinal Ximenes, in providing the first Polyglott Bible 1502–17, and his efforts to secure the best Hebrew text, deserve grateful commemoration.

[2] Reuchlin, generally regarded as the founder of the modern study of Hebrew, published his *Rudimenta Hebraica* in 1506, and the year 1516, when the attempts of his adversaries to procure his condemnation failed, may be marked as the year of triumph for Hebrew scholarship. Luther's theses were published in 1517.

Creation (i.—ii. 4; ii. 4—25). He also pointed out the composite character of chs. vi.—ix., containing the account of the Flood. 'It is probable,' says he, 'that if only one author had composed this work, he would have expressed himself in fewer words, especially in a History.' He inferred that in these chapters the work of two authors could be traced. His remark about difference of style, 'Sometimes we find a very curt style, and sometimes a copious one,' suggests a field of investigation which has been diligently worked over by subsequent critics. He has been called 'the founder of modern Biblical criticism,' and justly deserves remembrance under this title; for his two literary tests, (*a*) the existence of *duplicate accounts*, (*b*) diversity of *style*, have since his time been applied to the whole Pentateuch and to the book of Joshua, as well as to other books of the O.T.

Such an extended application of these tests was made neither by Simon nor by his immediate successors; and three quarters of a century elapsed before another Frenchman[1] attempted the solution of the problem by a different method.

In 1753, a Roman Catholic physician, by name Astruc, published a work entitled '*Conjectures sur les Mémoires originaux dont il paroit que Moyse s'est servi pour composer le Livre de*

[1] The nationalities of the earlier critics deserve notice. England and Germany are hardly represented; the controversy is carried on chiefly by natives of France and Holland. The majority of them are Roman Catholics; the most daring and outspoken—Spinoza—was a Jew. Among Englishmen, Hobbes is the only name of note; at the close of the 18th century Geddes, a Scottish Roman Catholic priest, published *The Holy Bible...translated...with various readings, explanatory notes, and critical remarks*, Vol. I. 1792 (The Pentateuch and book of Joshua), Vol. II. 1797 (Judges—Chronicles). He is generally regarded as the father of the 'fragmentary' hypothesis, and his name appears on the title-page of Vater's *Commentary on the Pentateuch* (3 vols. Halle, 1802–5), in which the theory that the Pentateuch is composed of fragments of varying length, put together by one or more redactors, was introduced to Germany, with a favourable notice of Geddes, and his work. From the time of Eichhorn onwards, the bulk of the critical work on the O.T. was contributed by German writers.

la Genèse.' He pointed out that in some sections of Genesis, *Elohim* is used as the Divine Name, and in others *Jehovah*, and divided the whole of Genesis and the first two chapters of Exodus (certain portions excepted) into two 'Principal Memoirs,' the first (*A*), in which the name *Elohim*, the second (*B*), in which the name *Jehovah* occurs. Several shorter passages containing 'facts not connected with the history of the Hebrews' were in his opinion derived from the Midianites, or other tribes with whom Moses came in contact. He considered Gen. xiv. as an extract from another 'Memoir,' and also admitted that his two sources *A* and *B* might be divided. There may be, he says, more than one Memoir in which the authors use *Elohim*, and more than one where the authors give to God the name *Jehovah*. In these remarks he anticipates much of the criticism of the following century.

The first of the two narratives of Creation is in Memoir *A*, the second in Memoir *B*, and the account of the Flood is composed of extracts from both. The judgement of Simon with respect to these chapters was thus confirmed. He inferred diversity of authorship from the *existence of duplicate accounts*. Astruc inferred the same diversity from the *use of different Divine Names*. The two methods lead to the same results, and each corroborates the inference of the other. Astruc's method separated two documents of considerable extent, to which the tests already proposed by Simon could be applied.

iv. *A century of criticism.* Astruc's work did not attract much attention in his own country, and the comments upon it in Germany were at first unfavourable. More than a quarter of a century elapsed before any further advance was made. Eichhorn[1], who seems to have worked independently of Astruc (*Einleitung*, vol. II. § 416a, p. 276, and Westphal, *Les Sources du Pentateuche*, I. 118 f.), applied the methods both of Simon and Astruc to the book of Genesis. He not only recognized the existence of two main documents, but directed attention to the literary characteristics of each, and shewed how, both in thought

[1] See note on p. 19.

and language, they differed one from the other[1]. At first he considered Moses the compiler of Genesis, but afterwards expressed himself with reserve on this point, and suggested the possibility of later interpolations (II. 398, § 435, and 426, § 442). He assigned the last four books of the Pentateuch to Moses, and explained the fragmentary character of some portions by suggesting the idea of a Journal, in which was recorded everything that happened, or was commanded, or done (II. 402, § 435).

In 1805 De Wette published *Dissertatio critica qua a prioribus Deuteronomium Pentateuchi libris diversum alius cujusdam recentioris auctoris opus esse monstratur*; and in 1806–7 two volumes entitled *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament.* He maintained that the book of Deuteronomy was so distinct in thought and expression from the first four books of the Pentateuch, that it must be assigned to a special writer. He also pointed out that the book exhibits marks of a later age than that of Moses, and assigned it to the seventh century B.C. This view has been adopted by practically all subsequent critics[2]. These volumes written when the author was but 25 years of age, at once established his reputation as a critic. His rules of criticism ('*Maximen*,' given at the commencement of vol. II. of the *Beiträge*) are of permanent value. His observation (*Beiträge*, I. 265), It is interesting to note that in our Pentateuch we may discover traces of *gradual development* ('successiver Ausbildung') in the laws relating to worship ('Gottesdienst'), deserves to be placed on record. It was sixty years before these words took root and bore fruit.

K. D. Ilgen deserves notice as being the first to point out the existence of two writers who used *Elohim* as the Divine Name. Only the first volume of his work (*Die Urkunden des Jerusalemischen Tempelarchivs in ihrer Urgestalt*, 1798) appeared; but the title shews the object of his investigations. He considered that the original documents of which Genesis was composed consisted of archives preserved in the temple at

[1] Compare the remarks on p. 20.

[2] The reasons for assigning this date will be given later. See p. 142.

Jerusalem. A more thorough analysis of the book was necessary in order to recover these archives in their primitive form. He warns his contemporaries against guessing and theorizing on insufficient data; he points out the necessity for further literary analysis, in order to secure a basis for a critical study of the history of Israel. Those who desire further information about his book, and the extent to which he anticipated further investigators, especially Hupfeld, may be referred to Westphal, *Les Sources du Pent.*, vol. I. pp. 125—141 and p. 205.

The next[1] forward step was taken by Hupfeld in his work *Die Quellen der Genesis und die Art ihrer Zusammensetzung*, Berlin, 1853, published exactly one century later than Astruc's *Conjectures*. He shewed that although in the earlier portions of Genesis those passages in which *Elohim* occurs (beginning with Gen. i.—ii. 4) exhibit marked characteristics of style and vocabulary, yet from Gen. xx. onwards other passages are found in which, although *Elohim* is used to denote the Divine Being, none of these characteristics are to be observed.

Two writers were accordingly distinguished, who, though they agreed in the use of the name *Elohim*, differed in other respects very greatly from one another. These writers are now called P and E, while Astruc's memoir *B* (marked by the use of *Jehovah*) is called J. Hupfeld further shewed that the sources J and E were independent documents, and maintained that Genesis in its present form was the work of a redactor who combined P, J, and E together.

[1] It is not necessary to follow in detail the course of criticism from Eichhorn onwards: the 'fragmentary' hypothesis of Geddes has already been mentioned in a note on p. 28; the 'supplementary' hypothesis was supported by Bleek, Tuch, Ewald, and De Wette in the 5th and 6th editions of his *Einleitung*. Further information may be found in Wellhausen's article on the Pentateuch in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. XVIII., reproduced with revision in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, vol. II. pp. 2045 ff., Westphal, *Les Sources du Pentateuche*, I. 179, Holzinger, *Einleitung*, §§ 8, 9, pp. 43—61, *Oxf. Hex.*, 1900, ch. vii. §§ 3, 5, and Merx, Nachwort in the 2nd edition of Tuch's *Commentar über die Genesis*, edited by him in 1871.

There was no reason for supposing that these three sources discovered in Genesis ceased to contribute to the history after the death of Joseph. On the contrary, it seemed probable that all three contained records of the chosen people at least as far as the possession of the land of promise. An examination of the books following Genesis confirmed this probability. P is so strongly distinguished from both E and J by phraseology, method, and other definite characteristics, that the difference between this writer and the other two could be traced to the end of the Hexateuch. Even before the separation of P from E, the affinity of the Elohist in Genesis[1] with the legislation of the middle books of the Pentateuch was recognized, and there was general agreement as to the limits of P's contribution to the rest of the Hexateuch.

The results of the first century's criticism may be summed up as follows:

> *Four documents can be traced in the Pentateuch and book of Joshua, two marked by the use of Elohim (those now called P and E), one marked by the use of Jehovah (J), and one Deuteronomic (D).*

Subsequent investigations have been built on these results; and though the general tendency of more recent criticism is towards further subdivision of the sources, the position assumed more than fifty years ago has been maintained in its broad outlines. As far as the analysis of the Hexateuch is concerned, little more has been done during the past half century than to determine more exactly the limits of each document, especially J and E. This latter portion of the critics' work does not affect the main argument as to the origin and development of the Hexateuch; for it is generally allowed that J and E were combined together at a comparatively early period, certainly before amalgamation with P. The investigation still supposes (as did the earlier critics before Hupfeld) a double strand in the first four books of the Pentateuch; P, and a remainder, the

[1] Though the Elohist at that time was regarded as including P and E, the inclusion of E did not materially obscure that affinity.

composite character of which is indicated by the symbol JE. The only difference is that P has been more exactly defined, and JE has taken the place of J.

With regard to the chronological order of the documents some variety of opinion existed, but the dominant view accepted by critics about the middle of last century may be described as follows:

a. Following the lead of De Wette, they assigned Deuteronomy to the time of Josiah, and regarded it as the latest of the documents contained in the Hexateuch. The Deuteronomic revision brought the Hexateuch into its final form.

b. Recognizing that the document P furnishes the framework of Genesis, they assumed it to be the oldest source ('Grundschrift,' or fundamental document) with which JE was afterwards combined[1].

c. Noticing also the priestly character of the legislation contained in P, they considered it as due to the priestly circle, and probably issued in the reign of Solomon, though some critics assigned an earlier date, the reign of Saul or David. The legislation itself was regarded as being in parts of great antiquity, and including elements of Mosaic origin.

This view of the genesis of the Hexateuch might be expressed by P+JE+D, and the whole by the symbol PJED.

If the question is asked, On what grounds was this order of the documents based? it is difficult to frame a definite answer. The earlier critics, confronted with two principal documents, were impressed with the regular structure and full details of the document now called P, and very naturally considered it as the fundamental source on which the other was grafted. When Hupfeld shewed that J and E must have existed originally as separate and independent documents, the question of chronological order was in fact re-opened, but the full significance of Hupfeld's argument, and its bearing upon the relative *dates* of

[1] Before Hupfeld's separation of E, the older source or Grundschrift was supposed to be P+E, with which J was afterwards combined.

the sources was not appreciated, and the hitherto accepted order was for a time retained.

v. *Continuation to the present time.* The method pursued until Hupfeld's time was (with a few exceptions, which did not at the time secure acceptance) the *literary* method. Critics separated the writers from each other, observed their characteristics, noted remarkable expressions, favourite words and phrases, and constructed a vocabulary for each separate source. This method was sufficient for purposes of analysis, and shewed the existence of the four sources PJED; but it was not sufficient to indicate the *relative* dates of the sources.

The fact that commentators on the O.T., who have proved themselves sharp-sighted and discriminating critics, have assigned very different dates to the same portions not only of the Hexateuch, but also of other books (e.g. Isaiah, Zechariah, and the Psalms), is in itself a proof that the *literary* method alone is inadequate when applied to the O.T. To determine when the different documents contained in the Hexateuch were written is a *historical* investigation rather than a *literary* one, and De Wette in the passage quoted on p. 30 was one of the first to point out the path which the historical investigation should pursue. The laws and institutions of a people are landmarks in its development; and the historical student examines them in order to trace the growth of ideas which exercise influence on the community. A similar process is necessary in following the course of Israel's development, both religious and political. Accordingly criticism proceeded to enter on a wider field, and, instead of occupying itself exclusively with words and phrases, paid attention to the laws and institutions of the chosen people.

The laws of Israel are found almost exclusively in the Pentateuch; and it was observed that:

Each of the sources which had been distinguished by the help of the literary *criticism contained a collection of laws*[1].

[1] These different collections of laws will be examined in a later section. See pp. 110 ff.

(*a*) J and E contain the laws comprised in Exod. xii. 21—27, xiii. 3—16, xx. 22—xxiii., xxxiv. 11—26.

(*b*) Deuteronomy, as its name implies, contains a code of laws (those comprised in chs. xii.—xxvi.).

(*c*) The main portion of P consists of directions with reference to the Tent of meeting, or Dwelling; and laws relating to priests, sacrifices, firstfruits and tithes (Exod. xxv.—Num. xxxvi.).

The laws of P are not gathered together into a compact code like most of the first two groups, but legislative enactments and narrative are combined. As regulations concerning the dress and functions of priests form a distinguishing feature of this legislation, it has been designated the Priestly Code.

The laws in (*a*) are so similar in character that they may be considered as one group. The code of laws contained in Lev. xvii.—xxvi. may for the present be regarded as forming part of (*c*). Thus three groups of laws may be distinguished in the Pentateuch. Each group has a distinctive character, and each contains enactments peculiar to itself. But regulations concerning certain subjects, such as worship, the treatment of slaves, etc., are found in all the three groups. A comparison of those laws which deal with the same subjects leads to the conclusion that they cannot be regarded as component parts of the *same* legislation, or of legislation promulgated within the limits of a single generation. The language and details, and also the principles which underlie the details, are different in the three codes. The differences can only be satisfactorily explained on the supposition that the codes belong to different ages, and were issued at different periods in the development of the nation.

The next step was to compare these codes with the history of the nation, in order to ascertain how, and at what times, the precepts contained in them were observed, and also to note deviations from laws prescribed in any one of them. This enquiry was not to be limited to the historical books. The message of the prophet indicates the condition of the people

to whom he is sent; and his writings afford valuable help in filling up the outline furnished by the historian.

This twofold comparison of the codes (*a*) with one another, (*b*) with the history of the nation, is equivalent to constructing a history of Israel, civil and religious, from a critical point of view. The scantiness of the record leaves some points uncertain; but the following propositions embody the results of this historical school of criticism:

(1) *The chronological sequence of the codes is that in which they have been mentioned, viz.* (*a*) *the Code of J E,* (*b*) *the Deuteronomic Code, and* (*c*) *the Priestly Code.*

(2) *There is no evidence shewing the existence of the Deuteronomic Code before the seventh century* B.C.

(3) *The worship and ceremonial enjoined in the Priestly Code was not observed as a system before the Return from the captivity.*

The works of Graf (*Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments*, which appeared at the end of 1865 with the date 1866) and Kayser (*Das vorexilische Buch der Urgeschichte Israels und seine Erweiterungen*, 1874) gave an impulse to this historical method of criticism, which was carried further by Wellhausen and Kuenen. Wellhausen, after contributing articles on the Composition of the Hexateuch to the *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, 1876 and 1877[1], published vol. I. of his *History of Israel* in 1878. A second edition appeared in 1883 under the title *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, of which an English translation was published in 1885. For this translation a preface was written by W. Robertson Smith, who had already in 1875 introduced the newer criticism to British readers in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th ed. art. *Bible*). In 1881 he had delivered a course of twelve Lectures on Biblical criticism

[1] These important articles were afterwards reprinted in a separate volume entitled *Die Composition des Hexateuchs, &c.*, which has appeared in several editions.

in Edinburgh and Glasgow, which were published in the same year under the title *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church.* A second edition, carefully revised, with a supplementary Lecture (XIII.), appeared in 1892. Prof. Kuenen published in 1885 the first volume of the 2nd ed. of his *Historico-critical enquiry into the Origin and Collection of the Books of the Old Testament*, an English translation of which appeared in the following year. The English reader has in the former of these works a full statement of the modern critical view in a popular form, and in the latter an Introduction to the Hexateuch, in which its contents are minutely discussed by the help of critical methods. He will also find an analysis given in an easier form in Driver, *LOT*[8], pp. 1—159, with detailed descriptions of the sources.

It must not be supposed that this method of criticism was entirely new when Graf published his book in 1865–6. Sixty years before, De Wette had drawn attention to traces of development in the legislation of the Pentateuch, and had pointed out the historical method as the most effective for determining the relative dates of the codes[1]. Professor Reuss, of Strassburg, had in 1833 formulated certain propositions which are in effect the same as the three enumerated above on p. 36. He communicated them to his pupils, but did not publish them[2]. In 1879 he published the third volume of his great work *La Bible* under the sub-title of *L'Histoire Sainte et la Loi.* The propositions enunciated in 1833 are found in that volume[3], and the debt which Graf and Kayser (both pupils of the Strassburg professor) owed to their teacher was made clear. Both had

[1] Cf. p. 30.

[2] They were assumed in an article *Judenthum* contributed by him to Ersch and Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyclopädie*, 1859.

[3] On pp. 23, 24. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, Eng. trans. p. 4 note, Westphal, *Les Sources du Pent.*, vol. II. p. xvi. After the death of Reuss in 1891, a German edition of his work on the Bible appeared, the third volume, 1893, bearing the sub-title *Die heilige Geschichte und das Gesetz.*

meanwhile been removed by death ; and Reuss 'had the satisfaction of seeing the views he had enunciated in his youth taken up and elaborated by his distinguished pupils and commanding ever increasing assent as he incorporated them, matured and consolidated, into the works of his old age' (Kuenen in his Introduction to the English translation of his volume on the Hexateuch, p. xxxiv). In 1835, Vatke (*Die Religion des A.T. nach den kanonischen Büchern entwickelt*) and George (*Die älteren jüdischen Feste mit einer Kritik der Gesetzgebung des Pentateuchs*) maintained that the course of Israel's development was gradual, and that much of the priestly legislation belonged to a period much later than that of Moses. Before this, Gramberg (*Kritische Geschichte der Religionsideen des A.T.*, 1829) had proposed to trace the ideas of the O.T. connected with religion according to their chronological development. His division of the subject into I. Sacred Places, II. Sacrifices and Offerings, III. Priesthood, IV. Festivals, V. Other Customs, VI. Idol Worship, resembles that of Wellhausen in his *Prolegomena*. It appears then that throughout the 19th century representatives can be found of that school of criticism which during the last thirty years has found a wide and increasing acceptance.

In this historical sketch of Hexateuch criticism, three stages of the enquiry have now been distinguished as (1) preliminary, (2) literary, (3) historical.

Three lines of investigation are thus suggested, corresponding to these three stages, which will be pursued in Part II.

In the *first* stage attention was directed to passages which appeared to have been written after the times of Moses and Joshua.

In the *first* line of investigation these passages, with others of a like character, will be considered ; and the result of the investigation will be embodied in

Proposition 1. The Hexateuch contains passages of later date than the times of Moses and Joshua.

In the *second* stage the *literary* method was mainly followed.

In the *second* line of investigation *literary* arguments will be brought forward in support of

Proposition 2. The Hexateuch is a composite work, in which four documents (at least) can be distinguished.

In the *third* stage the *historical* method was followed.

In the *third* line of investigation the laws and regulations connected with religious observances will be considered, and arguments brought forward in support of

Proposition 3. The laws contained in the Pentateuch consist of three separate codes, which belong to different periods in the history of Israel.

It is important to observe that, though these three lines of investigation are placed before the reader in the order suggested by the historical sketch, each line of investigation is separate and independent. Hence, although the propositions are here considered in the order in which they have been enunciated, they may, being independent, be treated in any order. For example, taking Proposition 3 first; if it be established, it follows that there are documents of different ages in the Pentateuch; then the arguments adduced in support of Proposition 2, and the inferences drawn from passages considered under Proposition 1, will supplement and corroborate the reasoning under Proposition 3. The strength of the critical position is mainly due to the fact that the same conclusions are reached by independent lines of argument.

PART II.

§ 1. THE FIRST PROPOSITION.

The Hexateuch contains passages of later date than the times of Moses and Joshua.

1. Passages quoted by Ibn Ezra and the critics of the 16th and 17th centuries will first be considered:

a. 'The Canaanite was then in the land' (Gen. xii. 6; xiii. 7). See above p. 26.

b. 'Before there reigned a king over Israel' (Gen. xxxvi. 31). The time of the kingdom is implied.

c. 'They [the children of Esau] destroyed them [the Horites] from before them, and dwelt in their stead; as Israel did unto the land of his possession, which the Lord gave unto them' (Deut. ii. 12). The writer refers to Israel as already in possession of their land, after having destroyed their enemies from before them.

d. 'The name of the city is Beer-sheba unto this day' (Gen. xxvi. 33). The remark of one who knows the city as existent in his day, addressed to a generation who knew it as an ancient city which was there in the time of their forefathers.

e. 'And Moses wrote' (Deut. xxxi. 9). This, coming after passages in which Moses has been almost continuously speaking in the first person (in cc. i.—xxx.), suggests a change of writers. The middle books of the Pentateuch contain a history about Moses, rather than one written by him. Compare them with Deut. i.—xxx.

f. 'And pursued as far as Dan' (Gen. xiv. 14). 'All the land of Gilead unto Dan' (Deut. xxxiv. 1). The name Dan was given to the city Laish at the time of the Danite migration northward (Josh. xix. 47; Judg. xviii. 29). The use of the newer name implies a writer who lived *after* the name had been changed.

ii. To the preceding passages, others may be added, which imply that an interval of some length has elapsed between the time of the events described, and that of the writer.

a. To, or unto this day (Gen. xxii. 14; xxvi. 33[1]; xxxv. 20; xlvii. 26; Deut. ii. 22; iii. 14[2]; x. 8; xxxiv. 6[3]; Josh. iv. 9; v. 9; vii. 26; viii. 21, 29; ix. 27; x. 27; xiii. 13; xiv. 14; xv. 63; xvi. 10). With the exception of Gen. xlvii. 26, these passages refer to places in the land of Canaan or in the land E. of the Jordan. It may be allowed that Gen. xxii. 14; xlvii. 26; Deut. x. 8, might have been said by Moses; but most of the other passages could hardly have been written till after the children of Israel had been settled in the land for a considerable time. Let the reader consider what is involved in attributing Gen. xxvi. 33 or xxxv. 20 to Moses. 'To this day,' in the mouth of Moses, must refer to a time when the land of Canaan was still inhabited by idolaters whom the Lord was about to drive out from before Israel because of their wicked doings. Moses tells the children of Israel that these idolaters have preserved the memory of Abraham's Well and Rachel's Pillar. And neither Moses nor the children of Israel had seen these memorials of their forefathers.

b. The 'bedstead' of Og is referred to as an interesting relic of the last of the giants (Deut. iii. 11). Moses, who died a few months after Og's defeat, could not have written this verse. It describes a historic monument of antiquity, the ex-

[1] Already discussed on the preceding page, i. *d.*

[2] See ii. *c.* p. 42.

[3] Admitted to be post-Mosaic; cp. the remarks on xxxiv. 10 on p. 49.

istence of which became known to the children of Israel in later times.

c. According to Judg. x. 4, Jair, who was a judge after the time of Gideon and Abimelech, had thirty sons and thirty cities in the land of Gilead called Havvoth-Jair (the towns of Jair, R.V. marg.). This account was written some time after Jair lived; for it describes the cities as 'called Havvoth-Jair *unto this day*.' Num. xxxii. 41 locates Havvoth-Jair in Gilead, but says that they were taken by Jair, the son (descendant) of Manasseh, a contemporary of Moses, who also gave them their name of Havvoth-Jair (Num. xxxii. 41; Deut. iii. 14). Here are different traditions about the origin of the name, like those about Beer-sheba (Gen. xxi. 31 and xxvi. 33), Bethel (Gen. xxviii. 19 and xxxv. 15), and Hormah (Num. xxi. 3 and Judg. i. 17). There is also another difference. Deut. iii. 14 and Josh. xiii. 30 refer to the same 'towns[1]', but locate them in Bashan. The variety of geographical description is an indication that the passages in Num. and Deut. are not by the same writer. For fuller details the commentaries of Gray, Driver, and Moore, on the passages in Num., Deut., and Judg., *International Critical Commentary*, may be consulted. Observe how inappropriate 'unto this day' is in Deut. iii. 14, if the verse is ascribed to Moses. Jair is represented as having taken the cities only a few months before the death of Moses.

The passages that have been quoted are short, in some cases not more than a single clause. May they not be regarded as editorial additions, the work of some reviser or copyist, who noted that the place about which he was writing was called by the same name in his day, or in some other way brought the narrative which he was transcribing into connexion with his own time? This is the explanation often offered of those passages which contain definite references to a period later than that of

[1] The Heb. word translated 'towns' in some of these passages is *ḥavvoth*, and occurs only in connexion with Havvoth-jair in the passages quoted, and 1 Kings iv. 13; 1 Chr. ii. 23. It probably means 'tent-villages.'

the conquest and settlement. In the preliminary stage (see p. 27), these passages were discussed at great length because they furnished the chief argument against the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. But criticism has advanced since that time, and occupies now so wide a field, that these passages have been pushed aside by questions more directly dealing with the origin and composition of the books. The reader will be better able to judge, at the close of the whole investigation, whether the hypothesis of glosses and marginal notes is necessary or sufficient.

iii. Other passages of greater length and of a different character will now be considered.

a. In Josh. xxi. 13—19, thirteen cities with their suburbs are assigned to the children of Aaron the priest. Nothing is here said about Aaron's posterity in the future becoming sufficiently numerous to occupy these cities, but in Joshua's time Eleazar and Ithamar, the sons of Aaron, and their families were the only surviving descendants of Aaron (Lev. x. 1—7; Num. iii. 4). The priestly cities are all in the tribes of Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin, in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and nine of them are to the south of that city. These cities are suitable dwelling places for priests who officiated at Jerusalem, and were with their families sufficiently numerous to occupy all the thirteen cities. They were not suitable for the priests in Joshua's time, nor for their successors during a period of more than 400 years (1 Kings vi. 1). During the greater part of the period from the conquest to the building of the temple the ark was at Shiloh (Josh. xviii 1; 1 Sam. i. 3; iv. 12—22; Ps. lxxviii. 60; Jer. vii. 12). Eli and his two sons were there and many generations of priests must have dwelt there. But Shiloh is not enumerated among the priestly cities. Ahimelech the priest was at Nob, and there all the sons of Ahimelech except Abiathar were slain. Nob is expressly called 'the city of the priests' (1 Sam. xxii. 19), but it is not to be found among the thirteen of Josh. xxi.

This passage can be assigned to Joshua only on the supposition that he is legislating, not for the present, but for a

distant future, and the narrative affords no support for such an assumption. The arrangements are for a priesthood ministering at Jerusalem, and the earliest period to which they are suitable is that of Solomon.

b. Lev xviii. 24—30. In *vv.* 24—26, as translated in A.V. and R.V., the casting out of the nations is described as future. But in *vv.* 27, 28 the expulsion is referred to as already past: the verses seem to have been written after the children of Israel had taken possession of the land, and are regarded by some commentators as a gloss, due to a later editor. Many modern critics, however, consider that the exhortations in this and the following chapters, though written from a Mosaic standpoint, really belong to a later period They object to the rendering of the English versions in *v.* 25, where the verbs are taken as prophetic perfects, and translate 'I have visited the iniquity thereof upon it, and the land hath vomited out her inhabitants.' They find in *v.* 25 as well as in *vv.* 27, 28 evidence of post-Mosaic date, and on other grounds (see App. V) assign the whole passage to a late period.

c. Other indications of time are found in Lev. xxvi. 34—45.

'34 The land shall enjoy [or pay back] her sabbaths...' (i.e. during the captivity).

'35 As long as it lieth desolate it shall have rest (keep sabbath), even the rest which it had not in your sabbaths when ye dwelt upon it.'

Here is a statement that so long as the children of Israel were dwelling in the land they did not observe the sabbath or sabbatical year. The last clause contemplates the children of Israel as no longer dwelling in the land, that is, they are in captivity.

Those who assume the Mosaic authorship of this passage, regard it as a prediction, and the past tense 'when ye *dwelt* upon it' as looking back from the future point of time assumed by the prophet This explanation is, however, far from natural, and the words seem rather to be those of a prophet on the eve of the captivity who could refer to the non-observance of

sabbaths as a matter already known to his hearers. Further remarks on the chapter will be found in App. V.

Verse 44 should be translated:

'And yet for all that when they be in the land of their enemies, I have not rejected them neither have I abhorred them...for I am the LORD their God, but I will for their sakes remember.'

Those in captivity are reminded that God hath not cast off His people, but will remember them. The change from the past to the future seems to indicate the date of the passage.

d. The description of the woes that will befall Israel as given in Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxviii. is so full of detail as to suggest that some calamities of a similar kind had already befallen a part of the nation (cf. Deut. xxviii. 53, 57, with 2 Kings vi. 28, 29).

iv. Two groups of passages which afford definite indication of the date of their composition deserve attention:

a. Passages in which quotations are made from other writers.

(*α*) 'Wherefore it is said in the book of the Wars of the Lord....' Num. xxi. 14.

(*β*) 'They that speak in proverbs[1] say....' Num. xxi. 27.

(*γ*) 'Is not this written in the book of Jashar?' Josh. x. 13.

The incidents related in Num. xxi. happened in the last seven months of Moses' life (cf. Num. xxxiii. 38, 39 and Deut. xxxiv. 7 with Exod. vii. 7).

Would Moses in relating events in which all the children of Israel had recently taken part, have any need to refer to a book or a poem? Or is it probable that the leader of the people in 'the day when the Lord delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel' (Josh. x. 12) would give any other account than his own of the victory at Beth-horon? A writer who quotes the testimony of another acknowledges in so doing

[1] This rendering, though adopted both in A.V. and R.V., requires emendation; there is nothing of the nature of a 'proverb' in the snatch of national poetry which follows: 'wherefore the ballad-singers say' (Perowne) is better. See note on the passage in the commentary.

that another stands nearer than himself to the events he is describing.

It may, then, be inferred that a literature intervenes between the writers of the passages in (α), (β), (γ), and the events which they are describing.

What is the probable date of this literature?

(1) Though Num. xxi. 14 is the only passage which has been preserved from the 'book of the Wars of the Lord,' the character of the work is sufficiently indicated by its title. The Lord fought by and with the men through whose hand He saved Israel from the day that He delivered them out of the hand of Pharaoh (Exod. xiv. 31; Josh. v. 13—15; vi. 16, 27; Judg. v. 13, 23, 31; vi. 14, 36; vii. 14; xiii. 5, 25). David fought the Lord's battles (1 Sam. xviii. 17; xxv. 28, where the Hebrew words are the same as in the title of the book). The wars of the Lord, or the Lord's battles, were the battles fought by Israel on the way to their inheritance, and to secure their possession of the land (Judg. v. 23).

(2) The book of Jashar, or rather (as the Heb. word has the article) 'of the Upright,' contained, besides the passage quoted in Josh. x. 12, 13, the lamentation over Saul and Jonathan, 2 Sam. i. 19—27. It is almost certain that it also contained a poem used by Solomon at the dedication of the temple[1] (1 Kings

[1] According to 1 Kings viii. 12, 13 a short passage of a poetical character is uttered by Solomon before his long dedicatory prayer in *vv.* 22—53. Verses 12, 13 are not in the LXX., but after *v.* 53 is found a passage which may be rendered,

'The sun hath the Lord set in the heavens,
In darkness hath He determined to abide;
I have built an house of habitation for thee,
A place to dwell in eternally.'

It is clear that the LXX. have translated a piece of poetry which was in their Hebrew copy, a portion of which appears in the Masoretic text and our English version in *vv.* 12, 13. The words which follow in the Greek text may be rendered 'Is not this written in the book of song?' The similarity to 'Is not this written in the book of Jashar' (Josh. x. 13) is obvious. The similarity is still more close in Hebrew. The words

viii. 12, 13). This is all that is known about the book. Whether it was exclusively poetical, or whether a poem was introduced by a historical notice of the occasion on which it was composed, and whether other poetical passages preserved in the Bible have been taken from it, must be left undecided. The poetry was both secular and religious, and the book could not have been compiled before the age of David or Solomon. In character, it was similar to the book of the Wars of the Lord.

Both these books contained poetical pieces, commemorating the mighty deeds of the early heroes of Israel; both were probably compiled in the peaceful days of the undivided kingdom, when the Lord had given 'rest on every side' (1 Kings iv. 24, 25; v. 3, 4). Tradition ascribes literary activity to this period and whether the books belong to this, or a subsequent age, the writers who quote them must belong to a still later period. The impression produced on reading the passages under discussion is that they were written long after the events occurred, and that their authors quoted documents which they considered ancient in support of their statements.

b. Passages which refer to prophets and prophesying.

When were prophets known in Israel by this name? According to 1 Sam. ix. 9 they were known as 'seers' in the time of Saul. 'Beforetime in Israel when a man went to enquire of God thus he said, Come and let us go to the seer; for he that is now called a prophet was beforetime called a seer.' David

for 'song' and 'Jashar' both contain the same three consonants; inverting the order of the first two consonants in 'Jashar' would turn it into 'song' (שיר—ישר). The Syriac version of Josh. x. 13 has made this inversion, and rendered 'Jashar' of the Hebrew text by 'song.' It seems almost certain that the Greek translators have done the same in Kings, and that the Heb. text before them was the same as in Josh. x. 13. Or if they have translated exactly, then 'song' (SH Y R) was in their Hebrew text. In that case 'Jashar' (Y SH R) may be suggested as an emendation. In either case the LXX. translators in this passage supply indirectly further information about the book of Jashar. They have also preserved for us a beautiful stanza of Hebrew poetry.

uses the expression in addressing Zadok, 2 Sam. xv. 27. It would seem that in the interval between Saul's time and that of the writer of the first book of Samuel, the word prophet had become the usual expression to denote that class of persons who were in earlier times called 'seers.'

The origin of the name *nābhi'* (prophet) is obscure. Two women before the time of Saul bear the title 'prophetess'—Miriam (Exod. xv. 20) and Deborah (Judg. iv. 4). Both commemorate the deliverance of Israel with a song, and Deborah also discharges the function of 'judge.' Their office seems different from that of the later 'prophet.' The word 'prophet' occurs but once in the book of Judges. A prophet was sent when Israel cried unto the Lord because of Midian (Judg. vi. 7, 8). This passage, whether attributed to the Deuteronomic compiler, or to a source akin to the Hexateuchal E (Driver, Moore), will not set back the use of the word 'prophet' to a date earlier than that inferred from 1 Sam. ix. 9.

The passages in the Pentateuch where the word 'prophet' occurs are:

α. Abraham is described as a prophet (Gen. xx. 7).

β. Aaron is a prophet to Moses (Exod. vii. 1), and his sister Miriam is a prophetess (Exod. xv. 20).

γ. When the Lord took of the spirit that was upon Moses and put it upon the seventy elders they prophesied. Two men who remained in the camp also prophesied, and Joshua on hearing this asks Moses to forbid them; Moses replies:

'Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, that the Lord would put his spirit upon them' (Num. xi. 16, 17, 24–29).

Moses is here represented as having the spirit of prophecy, sharing it with the elders, and desirous that all the Lord's people should share the gift.

δ. In Num. xii. 6—8 Moses is represented as a prophet, but one distinguished from other prophets to whom the Lord vouchsafes special privileges.

ϵ. Deut. xiii. contains warnings against false prophets.

ζ. Deut. xviii. contains a promise that the Lord will raise up prophets like unto Moses, and also a test for distinguishing between true and false prophets (see p. 175).

η. Deut. xxxiv. 10 declares 'that there hath not arisen a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses,' and assigns to him a pre-eminence like that implied in Num. xii.

If it were conceded that the word 'prophet' was occasionally used before the time of Samuel, passages (α) and (β) might be instances of such use; but the other passages could only have been written during the era of the prophets, and Deut. xxxiv. 10 can only be explained by supposing that the writer lived after a long succession of prophets had arisen in Israel. The view which assigns the closing verses of the Pentateuch to Joshua does not do justice to the terms here used of Moses.

These two groups of texts (i.e. those which contain quotations, and those referring to prophets) indicate that contributions to the Hexateuch have been made from the close of David's reign onwards, and up to a late date in the history of the kingdoms.

v. The narratives furnish proof that they were composed in Palestine. The phrase 'beyond Jordan,' however it may be employed in particular passages, owes its origin to a writer in Western Palestine, who thus describes the land to the east of the Jordan. Towards the west is 'seawards'; and the south is the 'Negeb,' the stretch of imperfectly watered country to the south of Hebron (cf. Judg. i. 15). These indications of position are suitably used by an inhabitant of Palestine; but for the children of Israel during their wanderings the Negeb would be to their north. Yet they are employed in the directions for making the Tent of meeting. The geographical knowledge of the writers is exact for places in Palestine, but indistinct for places connected with the wanderings. The many references to places, to the names given them, and the notices of things and names which have remained 'to this day' are appropriate only in the case of a writer living in the land and addressing his fellow-countrymen who know these places and the traditions connected with them.

The evidence that has been collected in i.—v. is sufficient to establish the first Proposition. The time of Solomon has been indicated as the earliest time at which some portions may have been written, and traces of a later date have been pointed out in other passages. Palestine has been shewn to be the home of some of the writers; and this, be it remembered, implies that the *whole* was written there, unless a theory of composite authorship resembling that which is to be considered under Proposition 2 be conceded. The Hexateuch shews signs of literary activity extending to a period subsequent to that of the undivided kingdom, at least till late in the history of Judah. Such prolonged literary activity implies a series of writers, and a probability is thus established in favour of

(§ 2.) THE SECOND PROPOSITION.

The Hexateuch is a composite work, in which four documents (at least) can be distinguished.

i. The Use of different Names for the Divine Being.

As this diversity of use supplied the first clue for separating the book Genesis into its component parts, it may appropriately be considered first. But the history of critical investigation shews that in course of time other criteria for discriminating between the sources have been noted and applied; consequently, the relative importance of the test which Astruc discovered is less now than when he first employed it. It is necessary to bear this in mind, because Hexateuch criticism is sometimes described in terms which imply that the distinction between the Divine Names *Elohim* and *Jehovah* is the foundation stone on which it rests. It will appear clearly in the course of this investigation, that such a representation greatly exaggerates the value of Astruc's test. The distinction between the Divine Names is employed to confirm results obtained by other critical methods: or it may be regarded as establishing a probability which is strengthened by further investigation.

a. Elohim.

There are three Hebrew words rendered God, *Ēl* (chiefly in poetry: in prose only with epithets attached as 'God Almighty'), *Ĕlōah* (only in poetry, mostly in Job, and *late* prose), and *Ĕlōhīm*, which is by far the most common. It is in form a plural noun, and is used either as a plural, with plural verbs or adjectives, or as a singular, with singular verbs or adjectives.

α. Construed as a *plural* noun *Elohim* denotes *superhuman beings* (1 Sam. xxviii. 13), *heathen gods* (Gen. xxxv. 2 and often), and occasionally *the true God* (Gen. xx. 13; xxxv. 7; Deut. v. 26 [Heb. 23]; Josh. xxiv. 19).

β. Construed as a *singular* noun, it sometimes denotes a heathen god as Chemosh (Judg. xi. 24); but far more frequently (with or without the definite article) it denotes the Supreme Being, probably as a 'plural of majesty[1]' and is then rendered 'God' in the English versions.

When *Elohim* occurs without either verb or adjective in agreement, the meaning is sometimes doubtful (see Gen. iii. 5). The rendering '*judges*' in some texts and margins (Exod. xxi. 6; xxii. 8, 9, 28) is an *interpretation*: the judge is regarded as the mouthpiece of a Divine oracle (or of God), and so his judicial words or acts are God's. There is no *real* difference of meaning in the variations between R.V. and A.V. The commentaries on these passages may be consulted.

b. Jehovah.

There is also a sacred name the consonants of which are YHWH (probably pronounced *Yahweh*). Later Jews from feelings of reverence did not pronounce it, but substituted for it in reading the Scriptures *'Ădōnāi* (with the final *āi* used exclusively as='the Lord'; cf. Ges.-Kautzsch[28] 135 q and note). But if in the Hebrew text *Adonai* immediately precedes the

[1] See Davidson, *Heb. Syntax* § 16 c; Ges.-K.[28] § 124 g, h. The Heb. words for 'lord,' 'master' are often used in the plural even when they refer to a single 'lord' or 'master' (Exod. xxi. 4, 6, 29, 34; xxii. 11 [Heb. 10]; Isai. i. 3; xix. 4).

sacred name Jehovah, *Elohim* was substituted, and the Jews read the two together as *'Ădōnāi Elohim*. When *'Ădōnāi* is read, the sacred name is represented (both in A.V. and R.V.) by 'the LORD,' and when *Adonai Elohim* is read, the two are rendered 'the Lord GOD.' The reader of the English versions may be sure that whenever 'LORD' or 'GOD' appears in small capitals, the Hebrew text contains the sacred name, YHWH[1].

The pronunciation 'Jehovah' (obtained by combining the Hebrew consonants of the sacred name with the vowels of *'Ădōnāi*) was not introduced until early in the 16th century A.D., and has passed into the modern languages of Europe. Though the pronunciation rests on a misunderstanding, it has now a recognized position in the English language, and hallowed memories have gathered round it in the last three centuries. It suggests to English speaking peoples ideas about the covenant God of Israel similar to those which the sacred name suggests to the Jew (though he does not venture to pronounce it), and may fittingly be retained as its English equivalent[2]. It is in both A.V. and R.V. of Exod. vi. 3, Ps. lxxxiii. 18, Isai. xii. 2, xxvi. 4, and in R.V. of Exod. vi. 2—9, in *vv.* 2, 6, 7, 8. It also occurs as part of a compound name in Gen. xxii. 14, Exod. xvii. 15, Judg. vi. 24, Jer. xxiii. 6, Ezek. xlviii. 35.

The manner in which these two Divine Names are employed in the book of Genesis has already been pointed out (p. 29). Astruc's *conjecture* that the passages in which *Elohim* is used, and those in which *Jehovah* occurs, are derived from different sources has been accepted not only by modern critics, but also by some upholders of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.

[1] For fuller information on the use of the Divine Names, the student may consult Driver's *Genesis*, pp. 403 ff.; BDB *Heb. Lexicon* under the different names, and *DB* ii. 198 f. v. 625, 636.

[2] A more exact representation of the Hebrew would be to print YHWH wherever the sacred name occurs and leave it to the English reader to supply as a spoken substitute either *Lord* or *God* in accordance with the rule given above, or to read *Jehovah*, or *Yahweh*. But this could not be done in a version intended for general use.

Other writers, however, maintain that the distinction in the meaning of the Divine Names, and a natural desire for variety of expression, sufficiently account for the phenomena presented in the book of Genesis, and that it is not necessary to assume the existence of separate writers, who use one name in preference to the other. It is true that these two names of the Supreme Being 'represent the Divine nature under different aspects, as the God of nature and the God of revelation[1].' *Elohim* is the more general term; *Jehovah* is the name by which Israel knows its covenant God. This distinction in meaning does in some passages determine the choice of name; when heathens are speaking, or spoken to, or in the dialogue between the woman and the serpent (Gen. iii. 7), the name *Elohim* is clearly more appropriate, and in some other places a reason might be suggested why one name is used in preference to the other.

But the manner in which these names are used *throughout* Genesis cannot be satisfactorily explained in the way that has been proposed in the preceding paragraph, viz. that the same writer used both names, either employing them with discrimination, or changing them for the sake of variety. With such a writer, the names would alternate one with the other much more frequently than they do in the existing text. There one name only is used throughout whole sections. In Gen. i.—ii. 4 *Elohim* only occurs, throughout xxiv. only *Jehovah*, and there are many other passages in which one or other of the Divine Names is used exclusively. But the presumption that the employment of different Divine Names implies different writers is further confirmed by the fact that variety of name is accompanied by diversity of style and vocabulary. This diversity will now be considered.

ii. Diversity of Style and Vocabulary.

When the book of Genesis is closely examined, it will be found that certain sections can be separated from the rest

[1] Driver, *LOT*[8], p. 13.

of the narrative, which are distinguished by a strongly marked phraseology and style.

a. Examination of selected sections. The first of these sections[1] is Gen. i.—ii. 4; in which the following expressions may be noted:

'create'—'after its kind'—'bring forth abundantly,' or more literally (R.V. marg.) 'swarm with swarms'—'creeping thing,' 'every thing that creepeth'—'likeness'—'image'—'male and female.'

Besides these expressions (some of which occur more than once in the section) there is a combination in Gen. i. 22 which is repeated in i. 28. 'And God blessed them, saying, Be fruitful and multiply and fill the waters....' Here is a command expressed in three imperatives, 'Be fruitful—multiply—fill,' introduced by a statement, 'God blessed.' This grouping of *four* words is exactly repeated in i. 28 and ix. 1; but the rendering 'replenish' of both A.V. and R.V. obscures the identity. The *same* Hebrew verb (translated 'fill' and 'replenish') occurs in all three passages. The phrase 'God blessed...' is found also in ii. 3('... the seventh day'); in ch. v. 2 in connexion with 'create,'

[1] It will appear presently that the sections to which attention is here directed are part of the document described in Part I. § 4, and denoted by the symbol P. In order to avoid repetition, the list in App. II may be consulted, where further information about the expressions here noted will be found. According to the historical development of criticism as traced in Part I. § 4, these sections were at first separated from the rest of Genesis by applying the test suggested by Astruc, viz. the use of different Divine Names *Elohim* and *Jehovah*; and then further discriminating marks were observed in the two documents. But these further discriminating marks of style and phraseology constitute a separate and independent phenomenon, which is here considered by itself. The argument in this section is independent of that which precedes, and would have the same force if the varying use of Divine Names did not exist. It may be remarked that the reference to the list in App. II is made solely for the sake of convenience and brevity, and does not imply any assumption as to the nature of the document under consideration.

'likeness,' 'male and female,' where the similarity to ch. i. is very marked. Compare with these xvii. 20: 'I have *blessed* him and will make him *fruitful* and *multiply* him' (of Ishmael). Sarah (xvii. 16) and Isaac (xxv. 11) are *blessed*; also Jacob (xxxv. 9), where '*be fruitful* and *multiply*' are found in *v.* 11. His father Isaac has already blessed him and invoked God's blessing with the words '*bless*,' 'make thee *fruitful* and *multiply* thee' (xxviii. 3); and Jacob records the blessing he had received, using the same three words (xlviii. 3). In these passages words and phrases recur *in the same combination*[1]. A record of *blessing* is followed by words signifying to be *fruitful* and *multiply*. It will be instructive to compare other passages which refer to blessing (xii. 2; xxii. 17; xxiv. 1; xxvi. 3, 12, 24; xxx. 27; xxxix. 5). On reading these it will appear (i) that the words accompanying the blessing in the first set of passages are not found in the second set, (ii) that in this second set, the blessing is a *continued* action manifested by the course of God's goodness in the past, or promised for the future. In the first group of passages, the blessing is recorded as a single formal act, a kind of benediction. (Cp. Gen. xlvii. 7, 'and Jacob *blessed* Pharaoh.') A distinct difference in thought and expression between these two groups is apparent. A difference in the Hebrew text may also be noted. The words 'I will bless thee' may either be

[1] In all languages, one writer is distinguished from another not so much by the peculiarity of the words which he employs (though of course when such peculiarity exists, it *is* a distinguishing mark) as by the manner in which he combines words common to himself and others. If two children are sent into the fields to gather posies, one may return with a nosegay carefully arranged in concentric circles of different colours; the other may adopt a less systematic arrangement. One may have a preference for dark colours, the other for light; but light and dark colours will be gathered by both. So it is with language; *preference* and *combination* are the distinguishing marks which differentiate one writer from another. Little stress is here laid on words *by themselves*; it is consequently no answer to the investigation in the text (which is summed up in the final inference (6) on p. 66) to point out that a word used in P is found occasionally in JE.

rendered by a single word in Hebrew, the objective personal pronoun being compounded with the verb, or it may remain separate as in English. The first group of passages shews a decided preference for the separate form, in the second group the composite single word is used almost exclusively.

The book of Genesis contains many records of promises made to Abraham, and renewed to his descendants. When these are compared, it will be found that they are easily separable into two groups, one of which exhibits marked phraseology and style.

Gen. xvii. may be selected as the representative of this group, and with it may be compared the promise to Jacob, xxxv. 9—13; the words of Isaac to Jacob on sending him away, xxviii. 3, 4; and Jacob's reference to the blessing bestowed upon him, xlviii. 3, 4. The following words and phrases may be noted[1]:

I am God Almighty—be thou perfect—kings shall come out of thee—I will establish my covenant—thee and thy seed after thee—an everlasting covenant—an everlasting possession—the land of thy sojournings; and the conclusion, 'and God went up from Abraham.' Observe also that the promise is associated with a change of name, Abram to Abraham, and Sarai to Sarah. The combination of 'bless,' 'make fruitful,' and 'multiply' occurs (xvii. 20 and compare 2, 6, 16).

In xxxv. 9—13 four of these phrases are repeated. God 'blesses' Jacob, changes his name, and bids him 'be fruitful and multiply.' Note in xxviii. 3, 4 'God Almighty bless thee and make thee fruitful and multiply thee,' a reference to the blessing of Abraham, and 'the land of sojournings.' In xlviii. 3, 4, the reference to ch. xxxv. is obvious, some of the phrases are repeated, and the land is described as an 'everlasting possession.'

In the covenant with Noah, ix. 9—17, the following phrases similar to those in xvii. occur: 'I establish my covenant with you and your seed after you' (ver. 9 and cp. *vv.* 11, 17), 'the everlasting covenant' (16), and 'for perpetual generations' in ver. 12 may be compared with 'throughout their (your) genera-

[1] See the table on pp. 64, 65.

tions' of xvii. 7, 9, 12. A further similarity may be noticed: the covenants both of ch. ix. and ch. xvii. are marked by a token; the rainbow for Noah, and circumcision for Abraham. The identity of ix. 1 with i. 28 has already been pointed out. The command is repeated in ix. 7, where 'bring forth abundantly' and in *v.* 6 'in the image of God made he man' supply further connecting links with the thought of ch. i. 'Bring forth abundantly' is the same in Hebrew as i. 20, and might here be noted in the margin as 'swarm.' In other parts of the Flood narrative verses are found which closely resemble some in the first chapter. Cp. vi. 20, 21, vii. 14, 21, viii. 17, 19, with i. 20—25.

It appears then that in the account of the Creation (Gen. i.—ii. 4), in portions of the Flood narrative, and in some accounts of the promises made to the patriarchs, certain words and phrases recur *in the same combination*, and that the vocabulary of these passages exhibits marked characteristics. They will now be examined more in detail.

According to the account in Gen. i., the work of Creation is completed in six days, and that which is done on each day is described with a recurrence of the same phrases. The following is the frame in which each day's work is set:

'And God said, Let there be'...'and it was so.' 'And God saw that it was good' ... 'and there was evening, and there was morning, a ... day.' *Orderly arrangement with repetition of phrases* is a characteristic of this narrative. The successive steps are cast in the same mould.

In ch. v. the first two verses contain four expressions which are found in ch. i., and in the genealogy which follows an *orderly arrangement with repetition of phrases* is again apparent. Three verses are assigned to each member of the genealogical tree; the first states his age at his first-born's birth, the second the length of the remainder of his life with the phrase 'and begat sons and daughters,' and the third the total length of life concluding with 'and he died[1].' An additional

[1] Ver. 29 breaks the uniformity of arrangement, and is probably from another source.

feature of the narrative may be noted. The third verse is not necessary, as the number contained in it may be obtained from the two preceding verses. In the genealogy from Noah to Abraham (xi. 10—26) two verses only are given for each generation, exactly resembling in form those in ch. v. These additional verses of ch. v. may be noted as exemplifying a *redundance of style*, supplying details which are implied in what has already been stated.

Instances of *precision of statement* (in addition to those already noted in chs. i., v., and xi.) are found in parts of the Flood narrative. Noah's age when the flood came is given (vii. 6); the time of the beginning and end of the flood is defined exactly by the year, the month (designated by a number as the 'second,' 'seventh'), and the day of the month (vii. 11, viii. 4, 5, 13, 14). The dimensions of the ark (vi. 15, 16) and the height of the water (vii. 20) are also noted.

Other instances of *redundancy of style* different from that just pointed out as existing in ch. v. are found :

Gen. i. 27 : 'God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him.' The second clause repeats with slight variation in form what has already been said in the first. This repetition is somewhat akin to the parallelism of Hebrew poetry[1], and imparts a stateliness of description to the account. It may be observed in ch. v. 1, 2 ; compare also ix. 1 with ix. 7 and ix. 12 with ix. 17. Also in ch. xvii. ; compare *v.* 2 with *v.* 4, *vv.* 12, 13, 23, 27 with one another, and *v.* 1 with *v.* 24. Gen. vi. 22 is another instance, 'Thus did Noah ; according to all that God commanded him, so did he.' This rather noticeable type of sentence often recurs in P : see p. 213. The literal translation of the first clause is, *And Noah did* (it).

In those chapters which have been examined the expression 'These are the generations (or, *origins*) of' occurs at intervals (ii. 4, vi. 9, x. 1, xi. 10, 27 ; with a slight variation in v. 1, 'This

[1] On the parallelism of Hebrew poetry the reader may consult the Introduction to the Psalms in this series.

is the book of the generations of ...'). It is also found xxv. 12, 19, xxxvi. 1, 9, xxxvii. 2. See the list in App. II, No. 8.

The whole history is, by the recurrence of this phrase, divided into stages. At each stage, either a step forward in the direct line of Israel's ancestors is made, or the limits of the history are indicated by appending a short genealogy of those families which were not inheritors of the promise. For details, the commentary on Genesis may be consulted; this feature of the narrative is here noted as an additional example of *orderly arrangement with repetition of phrases.*

b. Comparison of these selected sections with other passages. Other passages of Genesis will now be considered in order to find out whether they exhibit any of the marked characteristics of style and vocabulary which have been noted in the preceding pages. The account of the Creation in Gen. i.—ii. 4*a* ends with the words 'These are the generations of the heaven and of the earth when they were created.' Another narrative (ii. 4*b*—iii. 24) follows commencing with the words 'In the day that the LORD God made earth and heaven[1].' The *style* of this narrative is quite different from that of the preceding one; none of the words and expressions noted on p. 54 are found in it. In place of the *orderly arrangement with repetition of phrases*, the stately precision with which the successive steps of the Creator's work are enumerated, the story is here told in a simple and picturesque manner, and the words employed to describe the work of *Jehovah* are borrowed from the everyday work and life of man. In the first account God *creates*, a word especially employed to denote divine activity; in the second the LORD God *forms* (the word used of a potter moulding clay) man of the dust of the ground, He *plants* a garden, He *takes* the man and *puts* him therein. He *brings* beast and fowl to the man, and the rib which He *took* from the man He *builded into* a woman (R.V. marg.). This

[1] It seems certain that this verse should be divided thus, by placing a full stop after 'created.' The rest of the verse must then be connected with ver. 5. 'In the day that the LORD God made earth and heaven, no plant of the field was yet...'

simple record, in words of everyday life, of the mysterious power which called forth the world and man is quite different in thought from the picture of the God who 'spake and it was made, who commanded and it stood fast.' The difference is expressed in technical language by saying that the representation of God in the second narrative is more anthropomorphic than in the first; but the full meaning of this statement is not appreciated until the words employed in ii. 4—25 have been duly weighed. To them may be added others from the continuation in ch. iii. The LORD God *walks* in His garden, and the *sound* of His footsteps is heard (iii. 8, R.V. marg.); He *makes* coats of skins for the man and his wife, and *clothes* them. The whole *conception* of God in this narrative is far removed from that which underlies the representation of His work in the first chapter.

The interest of this second narrative centres in the making of man and woman, and in the planting of the garden, the scene of the momentous events recorded in ch. iii. But where it refers to the creation of plants and living beings it implies an *order different* from that of ch. i. Man is formed, then the garden with its trees; beasts and fowls are formed, and last of all Eve is brought to the man. In the first chapter, an orderly gradation is observed culminating in the creation of man, both male and female. In the second the plants, trees and living beings are described as made for his use and enjoyment, and *after* he has been formed. Woman is formed last because there had not yet been found an help adapted to the man. The *facts* in the two narratives are *presented differently*.

In respect then of[1]

(*a*) the *style*

(*b*) the *conception* of the Divine Being

(*c*) the *representation* of facts:

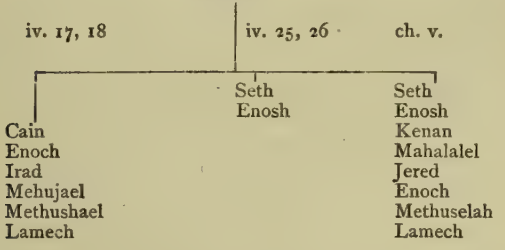
[1] From here onwards statements have been marked with letters (*a*)—(*h*), and the inferences drawn from them by numbers (1)—(6) in order to bring out the continuity of the argument, and the connexion of the final inference (6) on p. 66 with those preceding.

the two accounts exhibit such marked divergence as to warrant the presumption that

(1) *the accounts in Gen. i.—ii. 4a and in Gen. ii. 4b—iii. 24 are not from the same narrator.*

The two genealogies in ch. iv. and ch. v. In iv. 17 f. the genealogy of Adam *through Cain* is traced to Lamech; *seven* names are given, and Lamech is in the *sixth* generation from Adam. In ch. v. the genealogy of Adam *through Seth* is traced to Lamech; *nine* names are given, and Lamech is in the *eighth* generation from Adam. These two genealogies are not by the same writer, and they are not written in the same style. The precision of ch. v. (already described on p. 57) is lacking in ch. iv.; instead of the *repetition of the same phrases* for each generation there are found three varieties in iv. 17, 18: 'she [Cain's wife] bare Enoch'—'unto Enoch was born Irad'—'and Irad begat[1] Mehujael.'

An inspection of the following table in which the genealogies



are placed side by side will shew that:

(*d*) the resemblances are sufficient to suggest a common origin,

[1] A further difference in the Hebrew may be noted. Throughout ch. v. the Hebrew for 'begat' is *hōlīdh*, the Hiphil form of the root; but in iv. 18 the Hebrew is *yāladh*, the Qal form. The same difference is found in cc. x., xi.; *yāladh* x. 8, 13, 24 (twice), 26; but the Hiphil form in xi. 10—27. Notice also in x. 21, 25 'unto...were born...' Cf. iv. 18.

(*e*) the variations are so marked that they cannot be assigned to the same writer,

(*f*) the difference of style points to the same conclusion as (*e*).

Hence the presumption is warranted that

(2) *these two genealogies are not from the same narrator.*

The genealogies in chs. x., xi. The descendants of Japheth and Ham are given in ch. x. 2—20; those of Shem in x. 21—31. Another genealogy from Shem to Abraham is given in xi. 10—26. The same differences that were noticed in chs. iv., v. (p. 61) present themselves here, but in a more complicated form, as ch. x. shews affinity of style both with ch. iv. and with ch. v. For details the reader may consult the commentary on Genesis, but he will have little difficulty in applying to these chapters the remarks already made with reference to the genealogies in chs. iv., v., and in the note. The conclusion drawn will be that:

(3) *the genealogies in chs. x., xi. are not all from the same narrator.*

The account of the Flood in chs. vi.—ix. Some verses in the Flood narrative which resemble parts of Gen. i., and others shewing *precision of statement*, have been already noticed on pp. 54, 57. The whole account is analysed in a subsequent section (pp. 74 ff.). The reader can refer to that section for details, so that it is not necessary to repeat them here; it is sufficient to note that:

(4) *chs. vi.—ix. shew signs of composite authorship, and* two sources *have contributed to the narrative in its present form.*

If the reader considers the statements (*a*)—(*f*) and the inferences (1)—(4) drawn in the preceding pages, he will see that a very strong case has been made out in favour of the composite character of Gen. i.—xi.

One group of passages containing *blessings and promises* has been examined on p. 56. In the table on pp. 64, 65 they occupy the left hand column. The passages in the right hand column belong to the second group of passages containing *blessings and promises*, and it will be seen that:

The words and phrases noticed on p. 56 are not found in them.

In both columns reference is made to a numerous posterity and the future possession of the land, but the passages of the right hand column lack the distinctive phraseology of those on the left hand, and exhibit greater variety of language. Abraham's descendants are likened for multitude to the dust of the earth (xiii. 16), the stars (xv. 5, xxii. 17, xxvi. 4), and the sand on the sea shore (xxii. 17). The outlook is wider; 'in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed' (xii. 3) has reference to others beside the seed of Abraham. The promise is repeated (xviii. 18, xxviii. 14), and with a slight variation (xxii. 18, xxvi. 4). For the meaning of the words see the commentary in this series. In close connexion with some of these passages it is recorded that an altar was reared up to commemorate the appearance of the Lord (xii. 7, xiii. 4, xxvi. 25 and cp. ch. xxii.). No such record is found in connexion with any of the promises in the left hand column. A comparison of these two columns warrants the inference that they are not from the same source. These promises are found scattered throughout the whole patriarchal history, and there is no reason for separating the promises from the narratives. In most cases the promise is embedded in the narrative; the narrative leads up to the promise, and has been preserved for the purpose of recording it. Hence the promises carry with them the patriarchal history, and the further inference may be drawn that:

(5) *the patriarchal history is not all from the same narrator, and* two sources *have contributed to the narrative in its present form.*

A similar inference has been drawn from considering Gen. i.—xi. The examination of chs. i.—xi., and the examination of the patriarchal history, furnish evidence in favour of composite authorship. Each line of argument supports and increases the probability of the other.

[*Continued on page* 66.]

Comparison of Passages.

Gen. xvii.

1 ...I am God Almighty (Heb. *El Shaddai*), walk before me and be thou perfect.

2 And I...will multiply thee exceedingly...

6 And I will make thee exceeding fruitful...and kings shall come out of thee.

7 And I will establish my covenant between me and thee and thy seed after thee throughout their generations for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee.

8 And I will give unto thee, and to thy seed after thee, the land of thy sojournings, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession; and I will be their God.

16 I will bless her [Sarah] and she shall be (a mother of) nations; kings of peoples shall be of her.

19 ...and I will establish my covenant with him [Isaac] for an everlasting covenant for his seed after him.

20 I have blessed him and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly...

21 But my covenant will I establish with Isaac...

22 ...and God went up from Abraham.

Gen. xii. 2, 3, 7

2 ...and I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and be thou a blessing: 3 ...and through thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed.

7 ...unto thy seed will I give this land: and there builded he an altar to the Lord...

xiii. 14—17

14 ...Lift up now thine eyes and look...northward and southward and eastward and westward: 15 for all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever. 16 ...And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth:... 17 Arise, walk through the land... for unto thee will I give it.

xv. 5, 18

5 Look now toward heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be able to tell them: and he said unto him, So shall thy seed be.

18 ...unto thy seed have I given this land...

xviii. 18

...Abraham shall surely become a great and mighty nation, and all the nations of the earth shall be blessed through him.

xxii. 15—18

15 And the angel of the Lord... said...

17 ...in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply

xxviii. 3, 4

3 And God Almighty bless thee, and make thee fruitful and multiply thee, that thou mayest be a company of peoples; 4 and give thee the blessing of Abraham, to thee, and to thy seed with thee; that thou mayest inherit the land of thy sojournings, which God gave unto Abraham.

xxxv. 9—13

9 And God appeared unto Jacob again...and blessed him... 11 and said unto him, I am God Almighty: be fruitful and multiply... kings shall come out of thy loins; 12 and the land which I gave to Abraham and Isaac, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed after thee will I give the land. 13 And God went up from him...

xlviii. 3, 4

3...God Almighty appeared unto me...and blessed me, 4 and said unto me, Behold I will make thee fruitful and multiply thee, and I will make of thee a company of peoples; and will give this land to thy seed after thee for an everlasting possession.

thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea shore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies: 18 and by thy seed shall all nations of the earth bless themselves;...

xxiv. 7

The Lord...that sware unto me saying, Unto thy seed will I give this land;...

xxvi. 3, 4, 24

3 Sojourn in this land, and I... will bless thee; for unto thee, and unto thy seed, I will give all these lands, and I will establish the oath which I sware unto Abraham thy father; 4 and I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven,... and by thy seed shall all the nations of the earth bless themselves;

24 I am the God of Abraham thy father:...I...will bless thee, and multiply thy seed for my servant Abraham's sake.

xxviii. 13, 14

13...I am the Lord,...the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed; 14 and thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth, and thou shalt spread abroad to the west and to the east, and to the north and to the south: and through thee and through thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed.

To the passages in the left-hand column might be added Gen. i. 22, 28, v. 2, ix. 1, 8—17, which have been noticed on pp. 54—57. For all passages, the commentary on Genesis may be consulted; also the list of expressions characteristic of P in App. II.

The whole investigation may be summed up as follows:

(*g*) The sections Gen. i.—ii. 4, ch. v., xi. 10—27, some passages in chs. vi.—ix., and the passages in the left hand column on pp. 64, 65, contain combinations of words and phrases of a marked character, and exhibit strong characteristics of style.

(*h*) Side by side with them are found other sections (the remainder of Gen. i.—xi., and the passages in the right hand column on pp. 64, 65) where none of these phrases, combinations, or characteristics can be traced.

A very strong probability[1] is claimed for the inference that:

(6) *the sections enumerated in* (*g*) *must be assigned to a different hand from that which contributed the passages referred to in* (*h*).

Because in the sections enumerated in (*g*) *Elohim* is used as the name of God, they were formerly called *Elohistic*; but more recently they have been denoted by the symbol P (for reasons which have been referred to in Pt I. § 4, p. 35, and others which will be given more fully later).

The use of the Divine Names in the passages which have been considered may now be noted:

(*a*) Throughout the sections referred to in (*g*) *Elohim* is used as the name of God.

(*b*) In Gen. ii. 4 the expression 'the LORD God' occurs for the first time in the Bible, and is repeated in this and the following chapter. The strict rendering of the original is 'Jehovah God'; the combination is uncommon, it is found in the Hexateuch (outside chapters ii. and iii.) only in Exod. ix. 30. It is generally allowed that this is not the original form of writing, and that the names are intentionally combined to shew the identity of the *Elohim* of ch. i. with the *Jehovah* of subsequent narratives. Klostermann (*Der Pentateuch*, p. 37) suggests that it is an instruction to the reader to pronounce *Elohim*

[1] The fact that the same events are recorded in the sections enumerated in (*g*) and (*h*) materially strengthens this probability.

instead of the sacred name in chs. ii., iii. If this be so, the method of indicating the pronunciation differs here from that adopted in other parts of the Bible (described on pp. 51 f.).

(*c*) In the remaining portions of Gen. i.—xi. and in the promises in the right hand column the name *Jehovah* is used.

Now **either**: the variation in the use of Divine Names may be regarded as furnishing further evidence in favour of the separate origin of the two narratives; **or**, the investigation into the style and character of the two narratives may be considered as confirming the inference which was drawn in the preceding section from the varying use of the Divine Names. The important point to bear in mind is that the two phenomena which have been observed are *separate*, and consequently that arguments based upon those phenomena are *independent*, and when they tend to establish the same proposition are *corroborative*.

An important passage will now be examined, which suggests a reason for the varying use of the Divine Names in Genesis.

The R.V. of Exod. vi. 2, 3 is as follows:

'And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am JEHOVAH: and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, as God Almighty (Heb. *El Shaddai* R.V. marg.), but by (or, *as to* R.V. marg.) my name Jehovah I was not known to them.'

The writer points out that God's revelation of Himself was progressive; for the period from Abraham to Moses He was known as *El Shaddai*, but from the time of Moses onwards He is known by His name *Jehovah*. Appearances as *El Shaddai* to which he refers have been recorded in Gen. xvii. and xxxv. He uses in vi. 2—8 the expression[1] 'I have established my covenant,' found also in Gen. ix. 9, 11, 17; xvii. 7, 19, 21. The land promised to the patriarchs is described as 'the land of their sojournings' (Exod. vi. 4), as in Gen. xvii. 8,

[1] For a complete list of the passages where these expressions occur see the list in App. II.

xxviii. 4[1]. Can it be doubted that Exod. vi. 2—8 is from the same hand, and that it gives the reason for this writer's use of *Elohim* in preference to *Jehovah*?

That *Elohim* is used *designedly* as far as Exod. vi. appears from the fact that it is used much more frequently in those chapters than in the rest of the Hexateuch. In Gen. i.—Exod. vi. (56 chapters) it occurs about 120 times, but in the remaining 155 chapters of the Hex. it occurs about 30 times as the name of the Deity.

The average occurrence per chapter is 2·1 in the first section against less than ·2 in the second. There must be some reason to account for this great difference—the average in one part is more than ten times higher[2] than in the other—and Exod. vi. supplies the reason. Before God's further revelation of Himself under the name *Jehovah*, this writer prefers to use the more general term *Elohim*, and on occasions *El Shaddai*; afterwards, as will be seen, he uses *Jehovah* freely.

From Exod. vi. onwards, the test supplied by the use of *Elohim* and *Jehovah* is no longer applicable. But the passages which have been already examined and denoted (p. 66) by the symbol P exhibit a writer with marked characteristics in respect of style and phraseology. These characteristics will prove sufficient to determine the extent and limits of his contribution towards the rest of the Hexateuch. (See App. I.)

In the account of God's message to Pharaoh, and of the plagues that follow (Exod. vii. 14—xi. 10), his style may be recognized. In the preliminary sign shewn before *Pharaoh*

[1] The passages from Genesis have already been noted as belonging to P.

[2] If pages be taken instead of chapters which are of unequal length, Gen. i.—Ex. vi. occupies 77 pages and the rest of the Hexateuch 241 pages in the Interlinear Bible. The averages are 1·5 and ·12, the first being more than twelve times the second. They would be the same for other editions.

(vii. 8—13) Aaron cast down his rod and it became a serpent (Heb. *tannin*, any large reptile R.V. m.; the same word is translated 'sea-monsters' [whales A.V.] in Gen. i. 21). In Exod. iv. 3 Moses' rod becomes a serpent (Heb. *nāḥāsh*, the usual word for serpent), and the sign is to be shewn before *the children of Israel* to persuade them. The two accounts are clearly from different sources; the account in ch. vii. shews affinity with Gen. i., that in ch. iv. with Gen. iii. Pharaoh called for the wise men and sorcerers (vii. 11); and the magicians of Egypt did so with their enchantments. The concluding verse records 'And Pharaoh's heart was hardened, and he hearkened not unto them; as the LORD had spoken.'

If now the following passages (vii. 19—20*a*, 21*b*—22; viii. 5—7, 16—19; ix. 8—12) be read, the similarity to vii. 8—13 is obvious. The accounts of the preliminary sign (vii. 8—13), and the accounts of water turned into blood, frogs, lice, and boils are all *cast in the same mould*. Moses and Aaron are associated together, the rod is Aaron's, the magicians three times imitate Aaron's work, in viii. 18 they fail, in ix. 18 they are punished. Each section concludes 'and he hearkened not unto them; as the LORD had spoken.' The characteristic expressions of P noted above as occurring in Genesis (pp. 54, 56) do not occur here (the subject obviously does not admit them); yet, many similarities of vocabulary and style (e.g. *orderly arrangement with repetition of phrases*) link all these passages together, and *differentiate them markedly* from the context: contrast, for instance, the opening words 'Say unto Aaron...' with 'Go in unto Pharaoh, and say unto him...'; and *make strong* with *make heavy* (see R.V. marg. in chs. vii.—xi.). In other parts of these chapters further evidence of composite authorship may be found, and phenomena similar to those already observed in Gen. i.—xi., and the passages recording the promises on pp. 64, 65. See Driver, *LOT*[8], p. 24, and the commentary in this series.

The account of the institution of the Passover (Exod. xii. 1—13, 43—49), with full precepts for its first and subsequent celebrations, may be compared with the account (Gen. xvii.) of

the institution of circumcision. The similarity in the phraseology is evident. Note the expressions 'throughout your generations,' 'that soul shall be cut off,' 'in the selfsame day,' in the two chapters; the stranger must be circumcised before he is allowed to eat the Passover. Consult the list in App. II.

The reader will recognize the style of P in xii. 14—20, 40—41, 50, 51.

In this chapter occurs for the first time 'the congregation of Israel' (xii. 3, 6, 19, 47). This expression is found more than 100 times in the Hexateuch, and only in passages which are with good reason assigned to P. See App. II, No. 28.

This writer also furnishes an account of the deliverance from Egypt, the overthrow of the Egyptians in the sea, and the march to Sinai, which is preserved in the present text in combination with other accounts. The exact amount of manna gathered each day, and the enforcement of the sabbath ordinance in connexion with it, afford illustrations of his style. The stay at Sinai is recorded at great length, and this writer contributes a full account of the legislation which extends to 50 chapters (Exod. xxv.—Nu. x. 28, with the exception of Exod. xxxii.—xxxiv. 28). On the departure from Sinai, his record of the journey to the plains of Moab is again found mixed with other accounts in Num. x. 29—xxii. 1, but he contributes also three chapters of legislation (xv., xviii., xix.). The chapters from Num. xxv. to the end of the book are all (except xxv. 1—5, and parts of xxxii.) from his pen.

They record the second numbering of the people, Joshua's appointment as the successor of Moses, the vengeance taken on Midian, an itinerary of the journeyings from Rameses to the plains of Moab, the borders of the land to the west of the Jordan, and the names of the men appointed to divide the land, the assignment of Levitical cities and cities of refuge. They are chiefly narrative, with full details of persons and places, but ch. xxvii. and ch. xxxvi. deal with the law of inheritance, and chs. xxviii., xxix. contain a list of sacrifices to be offered on each

day, sabbath, fast and festival. In ch. xxx. laws concerning vows are found, and the conditions regulating the use of the cities of refuge (ch. xxxv.) are legal in character.

This writer contributes but few verses to Deut. and to the first half of Joshua, but furnishes the main part of Jos. xiii.—xxi., which describes the allotment of the territory, the boundaries of the tribes, with an enumeration of their cities and villages, the setting apart six cities of refuge and 48 cities for the Levites.

The character of the document may be inferred from this sketch of its contents. Though in form it is narrative, the 50 chapters which describe the legislation at Sinai (Exod. xxv.—Nu. x.) shew the aim of the writer. They are almost exclusively concerned with the externals of religion; the tabernacle and its furniture, how and by whom they are to be packed and carried during the journeyings, priesthood, sacrifices, feasts, the day of Atonement, and priestly dues. An outline only of the history is given, but full accounts are found when some important ordinance (e.g. Passover, Exod xii., Circumcision, Gen. xvii.) is described. Though the narrative describes the first observance of these rites, the minute details, and expressions such as 'an everlasting covenant' (Gen. xvii. 13), 'ye shall keep it a feast by an ordinance for ever' (Exod. xii. 14), 'whosoever does not observe either circumcision or passover,' 'that soul shall be cut off from his people,' shew that what was commanded to their forefathers is of perpetual obligation. In the history of the past are found rubrics for the present. The legislation is clothed in a historic garb.

Because of the precise assignment of dates and the systematic arrangement of material, this document practically forms a framework which binds together the component parts of the Hexateuch. In the earlier days of criticism it was regarded as the oldest writing, and called the 'Grundschrift' or fundamental document. It was also called the Elohistic narrative from its use of the name *Elohim*, but this title describes only the portion before Exod. vi. and (as will be shewn subsequently) is not a sufficiently distinctive title. By more recent critics it has been

called (on account of the fulness with which priestly functions, privileges, and dues are described) the Priestly code, and denoted by the letter P, or PC. Although the priestly legislation forms only a part of the work, it is nevertheless a considerable and prominent part, and much that is narrative in form is legislative in character. It will be convenient to use the symbol P in referring to this document.

The writer who uses the name *Jehovah*[1] may be easily traced by this characteristic as far as Exod. vi. The accounts of the Creation (Gen. ii. 4*b*—25) and the Fall (ch. iii.), and most of the patriarchal history are from his hand. The name *Jehovah* is used of the time before Abraham (Gen. iv. 26), and in chs. xii.—xvi. it is recorded of Abraham that he called on the name of *Jehovah*[2] (ch. xii. 8), and that the Lord said unto him, 'I am *Jehovah*[2] that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees' (ch. xv. 7). Can the writer who employs the name *Jehovah* in these passages be the same as the writer of Exod. vi. 2—8 who says that God was not known to the patriarchs by His name *Jehovah*, and can he have written the passages which have been shewn to be in close connexion with those verses? Are these two representations of the patriarchal history, one avoiding the name *Jehovah*, the other using it freely, both from the same source[3]?

As J records the promises made to the fathers, it is reasonable to suppose that he was not silent with reference to the course of events that brought about their fulfilment, and that this source can be traced in Exodus and Numbers.

The book of Deuteronomy has a style of its own, which may be recognized even by the reader of the English versions[4]. The

[1] He is generally designated as J.

[2] 'The LORD' in the English versions.

[3] If the reader is in doubt how to answer this question, let him consider the remarks on Gen. ii. 4—25 (pp. 59f.) and on the story of the Flood (pp. 74—81).

[4] Some phrases characteristic of Deut. are given in App. IV. For further illustrations see the Introduction to Deuteronomy.

book records the promulgation of a law in the land of Moab which the children of Israel are to observe when settled in the Promised Land. But it is more than a mere code of laws; the introduction to the laws (cc. v.—xi.) is a prolonged and earnest entreaty that Israel should hear *and do* them. It sets forth love towards God as the great motive to obedience, and both in its conception of the Lord God of Israel, and of the response which a nation chosen by such a God should make to His demands, it embodies the highest ideal of prophetic teaching. It has been said that Deuteronomy bears to the preceding books of the Pentateuch a relation similar to that of St John's gospel to the Synoptic gospels. The remark is suggestive, and deserves consideration. The unity of thought which pervades the book suggests at first a single author, and no doubt the greater part of it is the work of one writer; but further examination shews that it, like other books of the Hexateuch, shews traces of expansion and editorial redaction. Both narratives and laws contained in the book will come under review presently. It is sufficient here to indicate it as another element of the Hexateuch, and to denote it by the symbol D.

iii. Existence of Duplicate Accounts.

In the preceding section, a particular document (to which has been assigned the symbol P) has been separated out from the rest of the Hexateuch. In the course of that investigation attention has been directed to the existence of duplicate accounts, e.g. those of the Creation, the Flood, the genealogies, and the promises to the patriarchs. Though in that section stress has been chiefly laid on the argument from phraseology and style, it has also been pointed out that, when variations in phraseology and style are observed in duplicate accounts of the *same* events, the argument in favour of composite authorship is the more decisive. The duplicate accounts here considered may thus be regarded as supplementing, and corroborating, the argument advanced in section ii. It will be found that they throw light

on the composition of the Hexateuch and on the character of that portion of it which remains after P has been separated. The observation made with reference to the investigations in sections i and ii (viz. that they are *independent*, and when they tend to establish the same result, *corroborative*) may be repeated here. This section is independent of the preceding section, and might have been placed before it. Then, the composite character of the passages which will be here considered having been established, the investigation of section ii would follow, with a strong antecedent probability established in favour of the composite character of the whole Hexateuch.

a. Duplicate accounts in Genesis. The first instance of duplicate accounts is contained in Gen. i. and ii., and has been investigated on pp. 54, 59. The narrative of the Flood (Gen. vi. 5—ix. 17) is the first instance of duplicate accounts preserved in a different form ; here the compiler instead of keeping the two sources separate (as in Gen. i. and ii.) has woven together his two sources into a single narrative. It will be instructive to examine these chapters, and note the indications of composite authorship and the method of the compiler.

Comparing vi. 5—8 and 9—13, it will be noticed that the *same facts* are recorded in both passages. There is a favourable notice about Noah, a statement that God saw the wickedness that was in the earth, and announced His determination to destroy all that was therein. This *repetition* of facts is made in very different language. Though in the English versions the word *destroy* occurs in both passages two different Hebrew words are used. The one in vi. 7 ; vii. 4, 23 may be rendered literally as in R.V. marg. *blot out.* The other in vi. 13, 17 ; ix. 11, 15 is a common word for *destroy.*

In *vv.* 5—8 it is twice stated that the Lord repented that He had made man ; but in *vv.* 9—13 this is not recorded.

In *vv.* 5—8 *Jehovah*, in *vv.* 9—13 *Elohim* is the name employed to denote the Divine Being. Verse 9 commences with the words 'These are the generations of Noah.' A reference to p. 58 shews that this is one of P's phrases, as also are 'perfect,'

'Noah walked with God' (cf. Gen. v. 24; and xvii. 1 'walk before me and be thou perfect'). The same phenomena which have been observed in the accounts of Creation again present themselves in these verses which serve as an introduction to the story of the Flood. Two versions of the same facts follow one after the other; the first, by using *Jehovah*[1], and representing the Lord as 'repenting,' recalls the characteristics of Gen. ii. 4—25; the second uses *God*, and expressions found in ch. v. and ch. xvii. (parts of the document which has been denoted by the symbol P). The first has *blot out*, the second *destroy*. The words 'from the face of the *ground*,' following 'blot out' in vi. 7, vii. 4 R.V., are like ii. 5, 6, 7, 9, 19 (J). P uses generally 'earth.' These two versions are clearly from different sources.

Do these two sources furnish material for the rest of the narrative? Further examination will shew that they do, and will also supply additional tests for distinguishing between the two sources. It will assist the reader if the results are given in a tabular form (see pp. 76, 77).

In the central column C a summary of the narrative is given; those facts and statements which are *repeated* are in ordinary type, those which are recorded *only once* are in *italics*. The columns on either side contain the Scripture references; the outer columns to the right and left contain selections from the passages—words and expressions which serve to distinguish between the sources. The portions in italics are placed on that side of C which is nearer to the column to which they are assigned. Italics in the *outer* columns indicate words and expressions characteristic of J and P respectively.

A glance at column C of the table is sufficient to shew the great preponderance of matter in ordinary type, i.e. of incidents which are *repeated* in these chapters. Nearly the whole of the narrative is duplicated. If the passages contained in each of the columns P and J be read consecutively, it will be seen that

[1] Note that 'GOD' in vi. 5 (A.V.) should be 'the LORD' (*Jehovah*) as in R.V.

J		C		P	
Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord.	vi. 8	Noah approved by God.	vi. 9	These are the *generations* of Noah. Noah was a righteous man and *perfect* in his generations: Noah *walked with God.*	
	vi. 5	God saw the wickedness of man,	vi. 11, 12		
	vi. 6	*and repented that he had made man,*			
And the Lord said, *I will blot out man...from off the face of the ground.*	vi. 7	and said, I will destroy all flesh.	vi. 13	And God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me.... I will *destroy* them...	
[command to make an ark.]		*Noah is commanded to make an ark,*	vi. 14--16		
For *yet seven days* and *I will cause it to rain...will I blot out from off the face of the ground.*	vii. 4	for a flood will come and destroy everything,	vi. 17	I bring a flood of waters upon the earth to *destroy* all flesh...and everything that is in the earth shall *expire.*	
Come thou and *all thy house.* Of every *clean* beast thou shalt take to thee *seven and seven...* and of beasts that are *not clean two*...each and his mate.	vii. 1—3	but Noah and his family must come into the ark with pairs of all living creatures.	vi. 18--21	I will *establish my covenant* with thee, thou and thy sons...: of every living thing *two of every sort*...they shall be *male and female.*	
And Noah did according to all that the Lord commanded him.	vii. 5	Noah was obedient.	vi. 22	Thus did Noah, according to all that God commanded him, so did he.	
		Noah's age at the flood.	vii. 6	600 years.	
After the seven days...the waters of the flood were upon the earth.	vii. 10	The flood came.	vii. 11	In the 600th yr. and mo. 17th d., on the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up and the windows of heaven were opened	
Of *clean* beasts, and of beasts that are *not clean*..	(vii. 7—9)	Noah went into the ark with his family, and all living creatures.	vii. 13—16	In *the selfsame day* entered Noah ...*two and two* of all flesh as God had commanded him.	
...and the Lord shut him in.	vii. 16				

And the waters increased, and bare up the ark...	vii. 17	The waters increase and bear up the ark.	vii. 18—20	And the waters prevailed and were increased greatly upon the earth: and the ark went upon the face of the waters. *Fifteen cubits upward* did the waters prevail,
All...that was in the dry land *died*, and every living thing *was blotted out* which was *upon the face of the ground*...and they *were blotted out*...	vii. 22, 23	And all flesh died.	vii. 21	and all flesh *expired*.
And the rain was upon the earth 40 days and 40 nights.	vii. 12	Duration of the flood.	vii. 24	And the waters prevailed upon the earth 150 days.
And the flood was 40 days upon the earth.	vii. 17			
The *rain* from heaven was restrained.	viii. 2	The flood abated.	viii. 1—3	And God *remembered* Noah...the fountains of the *deep* and the windows of heaven were stopped ...and after the end of 150 days the waters decreased.
			viii. 4	7th m. 17th day, the ark rested.
At the end of 40 days Noah opened the window...yet other seven days and again he sent forth the dove...and he stayed yet other seven days...	viii. 6—12	*Noah sends out the raven and the dove.*	viii. 5	10th m. 1st day, tops of the mountains were seen.
And Noah removed the covering of the ark and looked, and, behold, the *face of the ground* was dry.	viii. 13	The waters were dried up.	viii. 13	601st yr. 1st m. 1st day, the waters were dried up,
			viii. 14	and in 2nd m. 27th day was the earth dry.
[departure from the ark.]		*At God's command Noah went forth from the ark.*	viii. 15—19	
	viii. 20	*Noah builds an altar and offers sacrifice.*		
		God blesses Noah	ix. 1—7	
I will not curse *the ground*... neither will I again smite.	viii. 21, 22	and promises not to destroy all living things again.	ix. 8—17	Be *fruitful* and *multiply* and *fill the earth*, as i. 28. I *establish my covenant*... neither shall all flesh be cut off...a flood to destroy *the earth*...the *token* of the covenant.

each of them furnishes an almost complete story. Where repetition is the rule and single record the exception (as column C shews), it will be necessary to examine the latter more closely, to see whether a reason can be given why only one account has been preserved (see pp. 79 f.).

Two Hebrew words occur in the narrative, which are both translated 'die.' In vii. 22 (J) the ordinary Heb. word is used; in vi. 17, vii. 21 a less common word (like '*expire*' in English), which outside the Hexateuch is found only in poetry, and in the Hexateuch is found only in P.

According to one account the flood is the result of prolonged rain (vii. 4; where note 'blot out from off the face of the ground,' R.V. vii. 12. Cf. 'the rain from heaven was restrained,' viii. 2). According to the other account waters from beneath, 'the fountains of the great deep' ('deep' as in Gen. i. 2), join with those from above to produce the catastrophe (vii. 11; viii. 2).

A distinction is made between clean and unclean animals in vii. 2, 8. Seven pairs of the former but only one pair of the latter are to be taken. No such distinction is made in vi. 19, 20, vii. 15.

Two expressions are used to denote male and female: (1) *zākhār ūn'qēbhāh*, vi. 19, vii. 16, as in Gen. i. 27 (P). (2) *'īsh v'ishtō* (lit. 'a man and his wife[1],' here it might be rendered, 'each and his mate'), vii. 2 (twice) (J).

From vii. 7 compared with vii. 10 it seems that Noah and his family came into the ark before the flood; in vii. 13 they entered 'on the selfsame day' (see list of P's words and phrases in App. II). Noah's family are described as 'all thy house' in vii. 1: but in vi. 18; vii. 7, 13; viii. 15, 18 a more detailed description, 'thou and thy sons and thy wife and thy sons' wives with thee,' is given after the manner of P.

The indications of time are different in the two narratives.

[1] In Hebrew, 'man' and 'woman' are used in the sense of 'each'; of animals, and even of inanimate objects: see Gen. xv. 10; Zech. xi. 9.

Seven days and 40 days are mentioned in vii. 4, 10, 12, 17. viii. 6, 10, 12.

A complete chronology is supplied as follows:

	Year	Month	Day
vii. 6	600th of Noah		
11		2	17
viii. 4		7	17
5		10	1
13	601st of Noah	1	1
14		2	27

According to this the complete duration was a lunar year and 10 days, i.e. a solar year, and the period of the waters prevailing was 5 months, i.e. the 150 days of vii. 24 and viii. 3. This dating by the year, month and day is a characteristic of P (cf. Exod. xl. 17; Num. i. 1; ix. 1; x. 11; xxxiii. 3, 38). Other indications of his style are 'in the selfsame day,' vii. 13; 'I will establish my covenant,' vi. 18, ix. 9, 11; 'the token of the covenant,' ix. 12, 17.

The words and expressions which have been noted in the preceding paragraphs appear in the outer columns of the table in *italics*. The table may serve to remind the reader of the arguments, and help him to estimate their force. The same series of allied phenomena present themselves which have been noted on pp. 54 ff. with reference to the accounts of the Creation. An account which is in form single indicates diversity of source in the same manner as the separate accounts of the Creation in the first two chapters of Genesis.

One more point remains to be considered: Does the narrative in its present form afford any evidence of the manner in which it has been put together?

The table shews that the portions which are found in J only are:

(1) The Lord repented that He had made man.

(2) The distinction between clean and unclean.

(3) The story of the raven and the dove.

(4) Noah's sacrifice.

The omission of (2) and (4) by P is in accord with his treatment of the whole patriarchal history. He abstains from recording any act of sacrifice or ceremonial distinction between clean and unclean before the establishment of a priesthood in the time of Moses.

The representation of God in P is less *anthropomorphic* (see p. 60) than those in other writers. This explains why the expression 'the Lord *repented* that He had made man' finds no place in his narrative. It appears then that P omits *designedly*; and this accounts for his omission of (1), (2), and (4). As regards (3), P *may* have mentioned the sending forth of the raven and the dove; a compiler would not relate an incident like this in duplicate. The account of P supplies the framework of the whole narrative, and has been preserved almost, if not altogether, entire.

The portions found in P only are:

(1) The command to build the ark.

(2) The exact dates—year, month and day.

(3) The departure from the ark.

(4) The blessing of Noah.

Now (2) is quite in P's style; he alone gives the exact dates which are found in the Pentateuch. Also (4) is very similar to Gen. i. 28 (see the remarks on p. 54). These are probably given by P only, but J's account is sufficiently complete and independent to justify the conjecture that some notices corresponding to (1) and (3) were originally contained in it. The probable position of these presumed original contents of J are indicated in the table in brackets.

Some parts of J have been expanded by a redactor (or editor) who incorporated phrases from P. The evidence in favour of this statement is most clearly furnished by vii. 7—9. Here we should expect to find J's version of the entry into the ark, parallel

to P's account in vii. 13—16. The distinction between clean and unclean points to J, but there is much in these verses that resembles P, e.g. 'his sons and his wife and his sons' wives with him' vii. 7 (cp. vi. 18 and vii. 13), P's expression for 'male and female' (cp. p. 78), 'two and two' of all sorts, and 'God' (vii. 9).

Other probable additions to the J narrative are 'whom I have created' (vi. 7), 'male and female,' as in P (vii. 3). The preceding remarks render the following statement probable:

The material in J has been expanded by a redactor who has combined the sources. He shews affinity with P, and not with J.

b. Duplicate accounts in other books. Duplicate accounts of both kinds, separate and combined, like those in Genesis which have already been examined, are found in other books of the Hexateuch. The declaration of the Divine Name *Jehovah* on the eve of the deliverance from Egypt is recorded in both Exod. iii. and vi. The account in ch. vi. has been shewn to be part of P (p. 67). In Exod. iii. Moses is bidden to declare the name *Jehovah* to the children of Israel, and to demand their release. The chapter is different in both style and language from ch. vi., but contains similar matter. An investigation such as that employed (p. 59) in examining Gen. i., ii. will shew that these two chapters are from different sources. The description of the plagues in Exod. vii.—xi. contains parts which are taken from a single document, and other parts where details from more than one document have been combined. Many narratives in Exodus and Numbers are composite, like the account of the Flood in Gen. vi.—ix.

Three sets of passages which, on examination, will prove instructive, will here be considered: those which refer to

(1) the Ark,
(2) the Tent of meeting,
(3) the mission of the spies.

(1) *Passages which refer to the Ark.*

The reader's attention is directed to the table on p 82.

Exod. xxv.
10 And they shall make an ark of acacia wood...

Exod. xxxiv.
1 ...Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first:

and I will write upon the tables the words that were on the first tables which thou brakest.
2 ...And be ready by the morning, and come up in the morning unto mount Sinai, and present thyself there to me on the top of the mount.
3 .....
4 And he hewed two tables of stone like unto the first; and Moses rose up early in the morning,
and went up unto mount Sinai, as the LORD had commanded him, and took in his hand two tables of stone.

28 ...and he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten commandments.

Exod. xxxvii.
And Bezalel made the ark of acacia wood.
(Description follows *vv.* 1—9.)

Exod. xl.
17 ...in the first month in the second year, on the first day of the month...he took and put the testimony into the ark,...and he brought the ark into the tabernacle.

Deut. x.
1 ...Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first, and come up unto me into the mount, *and make thee an ark of wood*
2 and I will write on the tables the words that were on the first tables which thou brakest, *and thou shalt put them in the ark.*

3 *And I made an ark of acacia wood,*
and I hewed two tables of stone like unto the first,

and I went up into the mount,

having the two tables in mine hand.

4 And he wrote on the tables according to the first writing, the ten commandments which the LORD spake unto you in the mount out of the midst of the assembly: and the LORD gave them unto me.

5 *And I turned and came down*

from the mount, and put the tables in the ark which I had made; and there they be, as the LORD *commanded me.*

He will notice that two accounts from Exod. xxxiv. and Deut. x. are verbally identical except that (*a*) in Ex. (*vv.* 4 ff.) Moses is spoken of in the third person, while in Deut. he speaks in the first; and that (*b*) the passage in Deut. contains three additional statements (these are in italics) concerning the ark.

According to Exod. xxv. 10—22 Moses receives the command to make the ark (with instructions about its form), the mercy seat, and the cherubim, *during* his first stay in the mount; according to Deut., the command to make the ark is given with the command to make two tables of stone like the first, which were broken, i.e. *after* the first stay in the mount, during the interval between coming down from that first stay and going up again. During that interval Moses makes the ark (Deut. x. 3); he goes up into the mount, and on his return puts the tables into the ark; 'and there they be as the LORD commanded me' (x. 5). According to Exod. xxxv. ff., Moses, after his return from the second stay on the mount, gives instructions for making the ark which were carried out by Bezalel (xxxvii. 1), and after the tabernacle was reared up, Moses puts the testimony (i.e. the two tables) into the ark and brings the ark into the tabernacle (Exod. xl. 20). The two accounts differ both as to the time of the command to make the ark, and as to the time when it was made:

The command to make the ark was given, according to
Exodus, during
Deuteronomy, after
} the first stay in the mount.

The ark was made, according to
Exodus, after
Deuteronomy, before
} the second stay.

These two accounts agree in two points: (1) the ark was of acacia (shittim A.V.) wood, and (2) Moses put the tables into the ark. But notwithstanding this agreement, the divergence in other details is so marked that two different authors must have contributed them. Whoever wrote Exod. xxv., or Exod. xxxvii., could not have written the account in Deut. x. 1—5, or that

in Exod. xxxiv. 1—4, which is so closely parallel to it. Some interesting questions arise about the relations between these two last mentioned passages, but they must be left unanswered at present; the following statements, however, may be regarded as established by the preceding investigation.

(*a*) The two accounts in Exod. xxxiv. and Deut. x. in their present form (one with, the other without, reference to the ark) are *not* from the *same writer*; *nor* were they placed in their present positions by the *same compiler*; *nor* were they composed by the author of Exod. xxv. or xxxvii.

(*b*) The full and exact details about the ark in Exod. xxv. and xxxvii. belong to P. Therefore Exod. xxxiv. does *not* belong to P.

(*c*) Deuteronomy shews affinity with that portion of Exodus which does *not* belong to P.

Note that these inferences involve: (*a*) the existence of *three* writers at least; (*β*) probably, also, one or more redactors.

(2) *Passages which refer to the Tent of meeting.*

Instructions are given to Moses about the Tabernacle[1] and its vessels in Exod. xxv.—xxxi., during his first stay of forty days in the mount. In Exod. xxxv.—xl. these instructions are communicated to the people and the ark, the tabernacle, and its vessels are made. The work occupied some time; for the tabernacle was not set up until the first day of the first month of the second year (about 9 months after arriving at Sinai) (Exod. xl. 17). But in the interval between receiving these instructions, and carrying them out, a remarkable series of events

[1] Two expressions are used in describing the 'Tent' or 'Tabernacle' of Exod. xxv.—xxxi. and xxxv.—xl.; *'Ohel Mō'ēdh*, which is translated *Tent of meeting* R.V., *tabernacle of the congregation* A.V.; and *Mishkan* (Dwelling), translated *Tabernacle* both in R.V. and A.V.; but R.V. has in the margin Heb. *dwelling*. The two expressions are combined Exod. xl. 2, 6, 29. The tent of xxxiii. 7—11, and that described in xxv.—xxxi., xxxv.—xl. are both called by the Hebrew name *'Ohel Mō'ēdh*.

took place, which are recorded in Exod. xxxii.—xxxiv. The people worship the golden calf, and the command is issued to depart from Mount Sinai, accompanied with a declaration that God will not go up in the midst of them. On hearing these evil tidings the people mourned, and put off their ornaments. Then follows (xxxiii. 7—11) an account of a tent which Moses used to pitch '*without* the camp, *afar off* from the camp,' and he called it 'the Tent of meeting' (*tabernacle of the congregation* A.V.). Every one who sought the LORD used to go out to this tent. When Moses went out and entered into the Tent, the pillar of cloud would descend and stand at the door of the Tent; all the people would see this and worship. When the LORD had spoken unto Moses face to face, Moses would turn again into the camp, but his minister (*servant* A.V.) Joshua did not depart out of the Tent.

The tenses in the Hebrew are frequentative, implying that what is here described was customary, and not done only on some special occasion. A tent is here referred to as already existing, without any previous intimation that it had been made. Did Moses make this tent, or cause it to be made, *without* having received instructions? If he did, there is a notable divergence between the two accounts. If he received instructions, either they have been omitted, or they are those of Exod. xxv. In either case the accounts differ as to the time at which the Tent of meeting was set up.

Other occasions on which the Tent of meeting is described as pitched *without* the camp are:

(i) When the seventy elders prophesy on a portion of the Spirit being imparted to them (Num. xi. 16, 17, 23—30), a distinction is drawn between the two men who remained in the camp, and prophesied, and those who went *out* unto the Tent (xi. 26). The words 'and Moses gat him into the camp' (xi. 30) imply that he returned after having gone out to the Tent.

(ii) When Miriam and Aaron speak against Moses (Num. xii.), the three are bidden to come *out* 'unto the tent of meeting'

(xii. 4), 'and the Lord came down in a pillar of cloud and stood at the door of the Tent' (as in Exod. xxxiii. 9).

(iii) Although Deut. xxxi. 14, 15 does not expressly mention the Tent as outside the camp, the similarity between the passage and the other three is so marked that it may be classed with them. All four passages are probably by the same writer, who is different from the writer, or writers, who describe the Tent of meeting as in the midst of the camp.

The description in Exod. xxxiii. 7—11, which assumes that the Tent of meeting is already made, and the record of the subsequent construction of the Tent of meeting and its erection on the first day of the first month of the second year (P) cannot be both from the same author.

The suggestion has been made that the tent in Exod. xxxiii. was a temporary one used before the permanent Tent of meeting was completed. But (i), (ii), (iii) (see above) describe events which took place *after* that Tent of meeting had been set up, and (iii) belongs to the *last* year of the wanderings. A tent which accompanied the children of Israel throughout the whole of their journeyings is referred to in these passages, and it is called 'the Tent of meeting' (*tabernacle of the congregation* A.V.), one of the names given to the 'Tabernacle' in the rest of the narrative (xxviii. 43; xxix. 4, 32, 44; Lev. i. 1; iv. 7, 18; vi. 26, 30; viii. 4, 33, 35; ix. 23; Num. xiv. 10; xxxii. 54, &c.). It seems clear that the same structure is implied throughout, and consequently that the whole narrative in its present form exhibits traces of 'duplicate accounts' with reference both to the Ark and to the Tent of meeting. Note that the construction of the Tabernacle in xxxvi. 8 ff. is recorded without any reference to the Tent of meeting of ch. xxxiii., or any intimation that it was made to replace that tent.

(3) *The mission of the spies.*

(*a*) The most complete account of the spies is found in Num. xiii., xiv.: how they were sent, the report which they

brought back, the murmuring of the people, and their punishment. It is not difficult to recognize that two (or more) versions of this incident form the basis of the record in these two chapters. As usual, the story of P may be most easily separated from the rest. In the following table, the right hand side contains P's account, and the remainder is placed on the left.

	Num. xiii.
	1 And the Lord spake unto Moses saying, 2 Send thou men that they may spy out the land of Canaan...of every tribe of their fathers shalt thou send a man, every one a prince among them. 3 And Moses sent them from the wilderness of Paran according to the commandment of the Lord; all of them men who were heads of the children of Israel.
17*b* ...and he said unto them, Get you up this way by the South, and go up into the mountains: 18 and see the land what it is; and the people that dwelleth therein whether they be strong or weak... 19 and what the land is that they dwell in...and what cities they be that they dwell in... 20 and what the land is... And be ye of good courage and bring of the fruit of the land.	[*The names of the spies follow, vv.* 4—16.]
22 And they went up by the South, and came to Hebron... 23 And they came unto the valley of Eshcol, and cut down from thence a branch with one cluster of grapes...	17 And Moses sent them to spy out the land of Canaan
.....	21 ...and they spied out the land from the wilderness of Zin unto Rehob, to the entering in of Hamath.
	25 And they returned from spying out the land at the end of forty days. 26 And they went and came to Moses and to Aaron, and to all the congregation of the children of Israel, unto the wilderness of Paran.
26*b* [and they came] to Kadesh, and brought back word unto them,	

and shewed them the fruit of the land. 27 And they told him, and said, We came unto the land whither thou sentest us, and surely it floweth with milk and honey; and this is the *fruit* of it. 28 Howbeit the people that dwell in the land are strong, and the cities are fenced and very great: and moreover we saw the children of Anak there.

.....

30 And Caleb stilled the people before Moses, and said, Let us go up at once and possess it; for we are well able to overcome it. 31 But the men that went up with him said, We be not able to go up against for they are stronger than we.

.....

33 And there we saw the Nephilim, the sons of Anak...

32 And they brought up an evil report of the land which they had spied out unto the children of Israel saying, the land through which we have gone to spy it out is a land that eateth up the inhabitants thereof, and all the people that we saw in it are men of great stature.

xiv.

1*b* ...And the people wept that night.

.....

xiv.

1 And all the congregation lifted up, and gave forth their voice... 2 And all the children of Israel murmured against Moses and Aaron: and the whole congregation said unto them, Would God that we had died in the land of Egypt...

4 And they said one to another, Let us make a captain and let us return to Egypt.

.....

5 Then Moses and Aaron fell on their faces before all the assembly of the congregation of the children of Israel. 6 And Joshua the son of Nun, and Caleb the son of

[*Moses (or Caleb*, cf. xiii. 30) *encourages the people to go up. Verses* 8, 9 *are part of this speech.*]

8 If the LORD delight in us then he will bring us into...a land flowing with milk and honey...

.....

11 And the LORD said unto Moses, How long will this people despise me?... I will smite them with the pestilence, and disinherit them, and will make of thee a nation greater and mightier than they.

[*Moses intercedes for the people in verses* 13—19, *and the Lord pardons them, verse* 20; *but announces their punishment.*]...

23 surely they shall not see the land which I sware unto their fathers, neither shall any of them that despised me see it: 24 but my servant Caleb, because he had another spirit with him and hath followed me fully, him will I bring into the land whereinto he went; and his seed shall possess it. 25 Now the Amalekite and the Canaanite dwelt in the valley: to-morrow turn and take your journey into the wilderness by the way to the Red Sea.

Jephunneh, which were of them that spied out the land, rent their clothes: 7 and they spake unto all the congregation of the children of Israel, saying, the land which we passed through to spy it out is an exceeding good land.

10 But all the congregation bade stone them with stones. And the glory of the LORD appeared in the tent of meeting unto all the children of Israel.

26 And the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, 27 How long *shall I bear* with this evil congregation which murmur against me? 28 Say unto them, as I live saith the Lord, surely as ye have spoken in mine ears, so will I do to you: 29 your carcases shall fall in this wilderness; and all that were numbered of you, according to your whole number, from twenty years old and upward, which have murmured against me,

30 surely ye shall not come into the land, concerning which I lifted up mine hand that I would make you dwell therein, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua the son of Nun.

.....

34 After the number of the days in which ye spied out the land, even forty days, for every day a year, shall ye bear your iniquities even forty years....

.....

36 And the men which Moses sent to spy out the land...
37 even those men that did bring up an evil report against the land, died by the plague before the LORD. 38 But Joshua the son of Nun, and Caleb the son of Jephunneh remained alive of those men that went to spy out the land.

39 And Moses told these words unto all the children of Israel: and the people mourned greatly.
[*They go up and fight in spite of Moses' remonstrance, and are defeated, vv.* 40—45.]

(*b*) Another account is found in Deut. i. 19—44, of which the following is a summary:

Num.	Dt.	
xiii. 26	i. 19	On arriving at *Kadesh* Barnea, a proposal made by the people to send men to search the land was approved by Moses, who took twelve men, one man for every
17	24	tribe,...and they *went up into the mountain and came*
23		*unto the valley*[1] *of Eshcol* and spied (searched A.V.)
20	25	it out. And they *took of the fruit of the land*...and

[1] A.V. of Num. xiii. 23 by translating 'brook' may lead the reader to suppose a difference where none exists. The Hebrew is the same in both.

Num.	Dt.	
xiii. 26		*brought* us *word again and said*: It is a good land
27		which the Lord our God giveth unto us. But the
Josh.		people murmured in their tents and said...our brethren
xiv. 8	i. 28	have made our heart to melt (discouraged our heart A.V.)
Num.		saying, the people is greater and taller than we; *the*
xiii. 28		*cities are great and fenced* (walled A.V.) up to heaven;
		and moreover we have seen the sons of *the Anakim there.*
		[Moses exhorts the people not to fear.]
	34	And the Lord...was wroth, and sware, saying, *Surely*
xiv. 23	35	*there shall not* one of these *men* of this evil generation
		see the good *land which I sware* to give *unto your*
24	36	*fathers*, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh,...to him will
		I give the land...and to his children; because *he hath*
		wholly followed the Lord...

From this point the two narratives are placed in parallel columns.

Num. xiv.

25 ...*turn*, and *take* your *journey into the wilderness by the way to the Red Sea.*

[*The punishment of the people is announced: they shall wander in the wilderness* 40 *years, and shall be consumed...vv.* 26—39.]

40 And they rose up early in the morning, and gat them to the top of the mountain, saying, Lo, we be here, and *will go up* unto the place which the LORD hath promised: for *we have sinned.* 41 And Moses said, Wherefore now do ye transgress *the commandment of the LORD*, seeing it shall not prosper? 42 *Go not up, for* the LORD is *not among you; that ye be not smitten before your enemies.*

Deut. i.

40 But as for you, *turn* you, *and journey into the wilderness by the way to the Red Sea.*

41 Then ye answered and said unto me, *We have sinned* against the LORD, *we will go up* and fight, according to all that the LORD our God commanded us. And ye girded on every man his weapons of war, and were forward to *go up into the mountain.* 42 And the LORD said unto me, Say unto them, Go not up, neither fight; *for* I am *not among you; that* ye be *not smitten before your enemies.*

Num. xiv.	Deut. i.
43 For there the Amalekite and the Canaanite are before you, and ye shall fall by the sword: because ye are turned back from following the LORD, therefore the LORD will not be with you. 44 But they presumed to *go up* to the top of *the mountain*: nevertheless the ark of the covenant of the LORD, and Moses, departed not out of the camp.	43 So I spake unto you, and ye hearkened not, but ye rebelled against *the commandment of the LORD*, and were presumptuous and *went up into the mountain.*
45 And the Amalekite and the Canaanite *which dwelt in that mountain*, came down, and smote them, *and beat* them *down*, *even unto Hormah.*	44 And the Amorite *which dwelt in that mountain*, came out against you, and chased you, as bees do, *and beat* you *down* in Seir, *even unto Hormah.*

For the analysis of Num. xiii., xiv. on pp. 87 ff. the commentary may be consulted; some of the facts on which it rests are here pointed out.

The beginning of ch. xiii. may with confidence be assigned to P. The expressions 'land of Canaan,' 'tribe,' 'prince,' 'at the commandment of the Lord'; Joshua's change of name (cp. Gen. xvii. 5, 15; xxxv. 10; and see p. 56), and the list of names (*vv.* 4—16), like the list of the heads of fathers' houses in Num. i. 5—16, are sufficient (with the remarks on these expressions and on P's style on pp. 57 f.) to indicate the source from which it is derived. A word for 'spy out' is found three times (*vv.* 2, 16, 17) in these introductory verses; its frequent occurrence throughout these chapters will help to identify other portions belonging to P. Also the expressions 'the congregation of the children of Israel,' 'all the congregation' (xiii. 25; xiv. 1, 2, 5, 7, 10, 26, 36), 'the glory of the Lord' (xiv. 10), and the general style of the passages in the right hand column, compared with that of the passages in the left hand column will be sufficient to shew the reader that there are cogent reasons for

considering the narrative as *duplicate*, and for the partition indicated in the two columns.

The geographical detail supplies corroborative evidence: the camp is in the wilderness of Paran according to Num. xiii. 3; in the Deuteronomic account it is at Kadesh Barnea (Deut. i. 19). Now in Num. xiii. 26 'to Kadesh' is added as explanatory after 'unto the wilderness of Paran.' This implies that Kadesh was in the wilderness of Paran; but in Num. xx. 1, and still more distinctly in Num. xxvii. 14, Deut. xxxii. 51, Kadesh is mentioned as in the wilderness of *Zin*, which the people reach only *after* the expedition of the spies. The same place is thus differently described in the *two* sets of passages. The variation can only be satisfactorily explained by supposing that they are due to different writers.

The extent of the expedition is described in Num. xiii. 21 'from the wilderness of Zin unto Rehob, to the entering in of Hamath.' The wilderness of Zin, adjoining that of Paran, into which the children of Israel came after leaving Paran (Num. xx. 1), was in the S. boundary of Judah. The entering in of Hamath defines the extreme N. boundary of the whole land (Num. xxxiv. 8; Josh. xiii. 5). According then to this narrative, the *whole land* is spied out. The valley of Eshcol (near Hebron, S. of Jerusalem) is mentioned in Num. xiii. 23 as the point which the spies reached. According to Deut. i. 25, after searching out (the Heb. word is different from that in Num. xiii., xiv.) the valley of Eshcol, they took of the fruit of the land and brought it down (from the high ground of Hebron to the lower level of Kadesh) to the children of Israel. The obvious inference from the Deuteronomic account is that Eshcol was the limit of the expedition.

In Num. xiii. 30 Caleb alone is mentioned as 'stilling the people,' and in xiv. 24 Caleb alone is again mentioned as allowed to enter the land; but in xiv. 6, 30, 38 (passages which for other reasons are assigned to the P narrative) *Joshua* is associated with Caleb in encouraging the people, and is mentioned with him as exempt from the punishment that would fall

on 'this evil congregation' (xiv. 27). In mentioning Caleb only (xiv. 24) the narrative is closely parallel to that in Deut. i. 36. Of course Joshua as well as Caleb entered the promised land; as successor to Moses he is expressly mentioned in the Deuteronomic account (Deut. i. 38) as causing Israel to inherit it: but the mention of Caleb alone in Num. xiv. 24 and Deut. i. 36, as compared with Joshua and Caleb in xiv. 6, 30, 38, may fairly be pointed out as additional evidence in favour of composite authorship.

The punishment announced in Num. xiv. 27—35 has already been threatened in xiv. 22—24. The two passages are duplicates; and in xiv. 36, 37 an additional detail is given: the spies that brought up the evil report 'died by the plague before the Lord.'

The facts stated above are sufficient to justify the separation of the sources in Num. xiii., xiv. The account in Deut., when compared with these chapters, will be found closely parallel; but the portions of Num. which furnish this parallelism are in the left hand column, i.e. the Deuteronomic narrative shews affinity with the account which is *not* from P. In the summary of the Deuteronomic account on p. 90, the expressions in *italics* are verbally[1] the same as in Num. (the verses both of Num. and of Deut. are in the columns at the side); though these coincidences are numerous and important, the reader who compares carefully the *whole* account both in Num. and Deut. will not fail to observe further points of resemblance, and also that these points of resemblance are found *only* in the left hand column of pp. 87—90.

But a most noteworthy feature in the Deuteronomic account is the close connection of Deut. i. 40 and 41, compared with the positions of the corresponding verses in Num. xiv.

In Deut. i. 40 a command is given to turn aside from the promised land, and journey towards the Red Sea. The people

[1] There is a difference of person in the verbs and pronouns: in Num. the third person is used throughout; in Deut. Moses speaks of himself in the first person, and to the children of Israel in the second.

in reply (i. 41) propose to attack the inhabitants of the mountain at once, and persisting in spite of Moses' opposition suffer a disastrous defeat. The command of Deut. i. 40 is found in Num. xiv. 25, but the attack and its consequences (Deut. i. 41—44) are related in Num. xiv. 40—45.

Thus Num. xiv. 25 = Deut. i. 40
and „ „ 40 = „ „ 41.

In Num. xiv., verses 26—39 are placed between two verses which form a continuous narrative in Deut. Why does Deut. take no notice of these intervening verses? Looking at the two parallel columns on pp. 91 f. it will be seen that each furnishes a fairly complete version of the incident. It has also been noticed that Deut. has throughout made no reference to the right hand column, and here he treats Num. xiv. 26—39 as if it were not existent. There can be but one explanation of these facts: the narrative in the left hand column once existed *apart from* that in the right hand column, and as a *separate* account served as the basis of the Deuteronomic account. It is inconceivable that, if Num. xiii., xiv. *in their present form* were known to the writer of Deuteronomy, he would have selected from it only those portions that are in the left hand column. The conclusion to be drawn is that Deuteronomy was *not* acquainted with P's version of the spies; and that P's version was incorporated with the other narrative after the Deuteronomic account was written. This conclusion is much strengthened by the fact that the book of Deuteronomy is throughout based on those parts of the Pentateuch which are *not* due to P.

The inference here drawn must be of special interest to the Biblical student. The *Bible itself* is here delivering its message, and furnishing us with an illustration how one of its sections has assumed its present form by a process of accretion.

(*c*) A few remarks on Josh. xiv. 6—15 may be added:

In this passage Caleb reminds Joshua of the promise made to him by *Jehovah* through Moses that 'the land whereon' his 'foot hath trodden' (ver. 9, cp. Deut. i. 36) should belong to

him and his descendants, as a reward for his faithful conduct. He asks Joshua to give him 'this mountain' [i.e. Hebron[1]] 'whereof the LORD spake in that day' (ver. 12). His request was granted, and 'Hebron became the inheritance of Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenizzite unto this day' (ver. 14). This assignment of territory is referred to also in Josh. xv. 13—15[2].

This promise of the land is not found in P's account of the spies, but in Num. xiv. 24 (in the left hand column on p. 89) and Deut. i. 36. The words in *vv.* 8, 9 'brethren'...'made the heart of the people melt' (cp. Deut. i. 28) and 'the land whereon thy foot hath trodden' (cp. Deut. i. 36) point to the Deuteronomic version of the story; the mention of 'Hebron' points to Num. xiii. 22, Kadesh-Barnea to Deut. i. 19. There is no trace of P's style or vocabulary, and no reference is made to Joshua as associated with Caleb in the task of spying out the land (p. 90). On the contrary, *vv.* 7, 8 with the personal pronouns in the *singular* number, 'I' 'me' 'my' 'mine' imply that Joshua is not here regarded as accompanying Caleb on that mission. The words 'Moses sent me' and 'my brethren that went up with me' are not appropriate when addressed to one who was

[1] Hebron is one of the highest points of the central mountain range stretching southward from the plain of Jezreel.

[2] A comparison of these verses with the parallel account in Judg. i. 10, 11, 20 affords an instructive illustration of variety in different versions of the same event. What in Jos. xv. 14 is represented as Caleb's *personal* exploit becomes a *tribal* exploit in Judg. i. 10 ('And Judah went...and they smote'). It is regarded as a *national* exploit in Josh. x. 36 f. ('Joshua went up...and all Israel with him unto Hebron, and smote it...and all the souls that were therein'). In xi. 21 also, apparently on another occasion, 'he cut off the Anakim...from Hebron... and utterly destroyed them.' Was Hebron taken, and all its inhabitants destroyed, twice by Joshua, and also by Caleb, or are these different versions by different writers of the same event? The student who will write out Josh. xv. 13—15 and Judg. i. 10, 11, 20 and place them side by side in parallel columns will be rewarded for his trouble. It is done for him by Moore in *I.C.C. Judg.* p. 23.

a *companion* of the speaker in spying out the land: it follows that the writer who represented Caleb as uttering these words did not consider Joshua as one of the spies. Hence the words 'and concerning thee' in *v.* 6 are not from his pen; the predominance of the *singular* personal pronouns throughout makes it almost certain that these words are a marginal gloss due to the influence of the account contained in P.

The facts here noted shew that the passage is closely related to the Deuteronomic account, and also has affinity with the account in Num. which occupies the left hand column in pp. 87 ff. All three may with confidence be referred to a common origin; the existence of a second passage (Josh. xiv. 6—15) in addition to that in Deut. i. 19—44, which makes no reference to P's account of the spies, confirms the inference drawn from considering the Deuteronomic account, viz. that the narrative contained in the left hand column of pp. 87 ff. existed at one time as a separate source, with which P has been combined.

iv. The Sources J and E.

The evidence furnished in the preceding sections that the Hexateuch contains material drawn from more than one source, is varied and decisive. A document has been separated from the rest of the Hexateuch, to which the symbol P has been affixed, and the limits of this document have been approximately determined. When P has been separated from the Hexateuch, it is found that the remainder exhibits some of the phenomena which have been noted in sections i—iii. In Genesis, the alternation of *Elohim* and *Jehovah* may be observed; duplicate accounts of the same events are also found both in Genesis and in the following books of the Hexateuch. The inference drawn is that this remainder is also composite. The separation of P has established a precedent; and also indicated a probability that further sub-division may be necessary; either of P, or of the remainder, or of both. Further consideration of P being postponed for the present, the character of the remainder (i.e. of the non-P portions of the Hexateuch) will be considered in this

section[1]. The investigation is necessary in order to complete the proof of the Second Proposition.

The step forward taken by Hupfeld when he demonstrated that the Elohistic (i.e. the non-J) sections of Genesis were not homogeneous has been pointed out in the sketch of Hexateuch Criticism (Part I. § 4, pp. 31, 33). He observed that from Gen. xx. onward the name *Elohim* occurred in passages which exhibit none of P's characteristics, and rightly concluded that more than one writer used *Elohim*. Some of these passages will now be examined.

a. Examination of Gen. xx., xxi., and xxvi.

In Gen. xx. 1—17 *Elohim* occurs throughout; but the passage exhibits none of P's linguistic or other characteristics, and cannot be assigned to that writer.

In verse 12, Abraham defends himself against Abimelech's reproof by explaining that Sarah was both sister and wife, because she was the daughter of his father Terah. The writer of xi. 31 (P) who describes Sarah simply as Terah's 'daughter in law, his son Abram's wife' expresses himself as if he were not

[1] The analysis of JE is an investigation quite distinct from that which has been pursued in the preceding sections. The reader may pass by this section altogether, and go on to the next. It is quite possible that after following the analysis in sections i—iii, he may feel disinclined to consider further applications of the analytical method. It may be a relief to consider at once the issues raised under the third proposition, and afterwards the analysis contained in this section. Taking note of the fact that critics are of opinion that JE is composite, he may proceed to consider the summary in section v, and the third proposition. The analysis of JE is not a necessary preliminary to anything that follows; though, in the course of the argument in support of the third proposition, further reasons may appear for supposing JE to be composite. In fact, the analysis of the Hexateuch at its present stage affords a complete parallel to the analysis of the legislation. Each consists of three distinct and corresponding portions. The further analysis suggested in the concluding paragraph of this section (see p. 107) may be deferred till the rest of the Introduction has been read.

aware of this double relationship. It appears then that xi. 31 and xx. 12 are not from the same hand, and since xi. 31 belongs to P, xx. 12 does not. This inference confirms the conclusion drawn in the first instance from the style of xx. 1—17 that

a. Gen. xx. 1—17 does not belong to P.

Gen. xxi. contains an account of a visit paid by *Abraham* and Sarah to Abimelech at Beersheba.

Gen. xxvi. contains an account of a visit paid by *Isaac* and Rebekah to Abimelech at Beersheba in which the points of resemblance to xx. 1—17, xxi. 22—32 are numerous and remarkable.

Both Abraham and Isaac

(1) dwell in Gerar : where they meet

(2) Abimelech king of Gerar (xx. 2), or of the Philistines (xxvi. 1), who dwells there.

(3) They both represent that the wife is a sister; and Abimelech in both cases reproves them when the truth becomes known to him ;

(4) they both make a covenant with Abimelech and Phicol the captain of his host[1],

(5) at a place which on each occasion is said to have been named in consequence Beersheba—in Abraham's time in ch. xxi., and in Isaac's time in ch. xxvi.

The close similarity indicated in (1)—(5) renders it highly probable that the two narratives are variants of the same tradition[2].

[1] So R.V., and rightly : the Hebrew words of this expression are the same in both narratives, though the translation in A.V. is different.

[2] 'In reading the narrative of Isaac's dealings with Abimelech by the side of Abraham's dealings with the same king, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that we have before us two versions of the same event. Doubtless, history repeats itself; disputes about the possession of wells in a desert-land can frequently recur, and it is possible that two kings of the same name may have followed one another on the

The account in Gen. xx. 1—17, xxi. 22—32 uses *Elohim*, that in Gen. xxvi. uses *Jehovah*; hence

β. these two accounts in their present form are not from the same writer; and since neither account shews any affinity with P, (α) and (β) combine to justify the conclusion that

Two sources besides P can be traced in Genesis.

It appears then that parts of Gen. xx. and xxi. in which *Elohim* is used, are from some source other than P; i.e. that two Elohistic writers have contributed to the patriarchal history. Is there any further evidence corroborating this conclusion?

b. Examination of Exod. iii. 9—15. Exod. iii. 9—15 contains an account similar in character to that in Exod. vi. 2—8. Moses receives a commission to go to Pharaoh, and bring the children of Israel out of Egypt. He asks, 'When I come unto the children of Israel and say unto them, The God of your fathers hath sent me unto you, and they shall say to me, What is his name? what shall I say to them?' In reply God bids him say, 'The LORD (Heb. *Jehovah*), the God of your fathers,...hath sent me unto you: this is my name for ever, and this is my memorial unto all generations.' Though it is not expressly said (as in vi. 3) that God was not known by His name *Jehovah* to former generations, yet a name is here revealed to Moses, and through him to the children of Israel, the same name *Jehovah* as in vi. 2. The idea contained in iii. 9—15 is the same as that in vi. 2—8; but the language in which it is expressed is different. Both passages are records of a revelation of God as *Jehovah*. In Exod. iii. no mention is made of God Almighty (*El Shaddai*), but an explanation of the name *Jehovah* is given (iii. 14, 15). In Exod. vi. mention is made of God Almighty, but no explana-

throne of Gerar. But what does not seem very possible is that each of these kings should have had a "chief captain of his host" called by the strange non-Semitic name of Phichol (Gen. xxi. 22, xxvi. 26); that each of them should have taken the wife of the patriarch, believing her to be his sister; or that Beersheba should twice have received the same name from the oaths sworn over it' (Sayce, *EIIH* p. 64).

tion of the name *Jehovah* is given. The phrases characteristic of P in vi. 2—8 have already been pointed out (p. 67). None of these are found in Exod. iii. 9—15. Here is an instance of *duplicate accounts* of the same event, accompanied with differences of style and vocabulary. The inference[1] is that *two* writers record the fact that God before delivering His people from the bondage of Egypt, imparts to them a fuller knowledge of Himself under His name *Jehovah*. It is probable, therefore, that two writers have contributed to Gen. i.—Exod. vi., both of whom would use *Elohim* in preference to *Jehovah* in describing pre-Mosaic times. This inference agrees with and corroborates the inference drawn from the examination of Gen. xx., xxi., xxvi.

c. Examination of Gen. xxviii. 10—xxxv., and Exod. iv., xxiv. Additional evidence in support of this conclusion (viz. that two sources besides P can be traced in Genesis) is derived from an examination of Gen. xxviii. 10—xxxv. In these chapters, the alternation between *Elohim* and *Jehovah* points to the continuance of the two sources (neither of which can be identified with P) which have been traced in chs. xx., xxi., and xxvi.

In xxviii. 10—22 there are indications that the narrative is composite. According to one portion of it Jacob, 'when he fled from the face of Esau his brother' to his uncle Laban, lay down in a certain place, and saw in a dream the ladder whose top reached to heaven, and 'the angels of God ascending and descending upon it' (xxviii. 11, 12). And Jacob was afraid and said 'This is none other than the house of God,' and set up the stone which he had put under his head for a pillar, and poured oil on it (*vv.* 17, 18). With this account (in which *Elohim* is used) is combined another, in which the Lord is described as standing beside him (the rendering of R.V. marg. in verse 13 is better than 'above it' of both A.V. and R.V.) and confirming to him the promise of the land. And Jacob awaked and said, 'Surely the LORD is in this place' (*vv.* 13—16 in which *Jehovah* is

[1] The same argument as that applied repeatedly in section ii to separate P.

used). Jacob called the name of this place Bethel. He refers to the first incident, and to the place as Bethel (xxxi. 5—16), in speaking to his wives before leaving Laban. (Note especially the reference in verse 13 to anointing the pillar and to the vow.) Again in xxxv. 1—7 God commands Jacob to go to Bethel and refers to the former appearance 'when he fled from the face of Esau his brother.' In both these passages *Elohim* is used; but they show no marks of P's style. A passage which undoubtedly belongs to P (xxxv. 9—13) records an appearance of God to Jacob, and states that Jacob named the place where God spake with him, Bethel. This occurs *after* his long sojourn with Laban. The passage in xxviii. 11, 12, 17, 18, where the name Bethel is given to the place because of God's appearance to Jacob *before* he meets Laban cannot be from the same source as xxxv. 9—13: nor can the passages xxxi. 5—16 and xxxv. 1—7; for both of these refer to that first appearance at Bethel. These three passages, in which *Elohim* is used, do not belong to P.

Another account, that of Jacob's wrestling with the angel in xxxii. 22—32, cannot be assigned to P, although *Elohim* occurs in it; both on stylistic grounds, and also because it records Jacob's change of name as taking place at the ford Jabbok, on the east of the Jordan, not at Bethel on the west, as in xxxv. 10 (P).

In chs. xxix.—xxxi., note: (1) the alternation of *Elohim* and *Jehovah*; (2) the *double etymologies*[1] in ch. xxx.; and (3) *different accounts* of the relations between Jacob and Laban, and how Jacob became rich (see Driver, *LOT*[8] p. 16, and the commentary on Genesis).

[1] In xxx. 16 Leah 'hires' Jacob, in ver. 18 Leah receives her 'hire'; the name Issachar is connected with the Heb. *sāchar* (hire), but on two different occasions with different explanations of the 'hire.' Similarly in ver. 20 'endow' (Heb. *zābhad*) and 'dwell' (*zābhal*) are both connected with the name Zebulun. In both instances it is probable that the two varying explanations are not from the same source; and the probability is confirmed in *vv.* 23, 24. Here two etymologies are given for the name Joseph; one from *'āsaph* (take away) with *Elohim* (ver. 23), and another from *yāsaph* (add) with *Jehovah*.

Sufficient evidence has been collected to show that two sources may be traced in those portions of Genesis xxviii.—xxxv. which are not assigned to P; and thus to support the conclusion drawn on p. 100 from an examination of Gen. xx., xxi., and xxvi. It is also clear (from the analysis of xxviii. 10—22 on p. 101 and the facts marked as (1) (2) (3) on p. 102) that these two sources have sometimes been combined together by an editor or redactor. It may not always be possible completely to resolve the narrative again into its component parts; however clear the evidence in favour of its composite character may be, the facts at our disposal are often not sufficient to effect the separation with certainty (cf. *LOT*[8] pp. 13, 19); but this does not weaken the argument supplied from the facts already noted, which shew that the narrative is not from one source.

The evidence for the composite character of JE has been so far supplied from the book of Genesis; the books of Exodus and Numbers furnish equally convincing evidence. For Exod. i.—xviii., the commentary and *LOT*[8] pp. 22—31 may be consulted. Exod. xix.—xxiv., and xxxii.—xxxiv.[1], contain JE's narrative of the events at Sinai. Parts of this narrative have been examined, and compared with corresponding accounts in P, and in Deuteronomy on pp. 82—85; and other parts will be examined under the third proposition on pp. 113ff. Evidence in favour of the composite character of JE is there incidentally disclosed; but further incontestable evidence is furnished in a continuous reading of the whole. For a full discussion, the commentary and *LOT*[8] pp. 32—39 may be further consulted. Two points in the evidence furnished by these chapters of Exodus are selected for illustration. (1) Exod. iv. contains two accounts of a 'rod' in the hand of Moses. In *vv.* 2—4 it is represented as the staff which is already in Moses' hands, the shepherd's staff with which he tends the flock of his father in law. The change of this rod to a serpent is one of the signs which Moses is to shew *before the children of Israel*, as a token of the coming deliverance.

[1] The exact limits of P (and by inference of JE) are given in App. I.

In ver. 17 Moses is furnished with a wonder-working rod (called the rod of God in iv. 20, xvii. 9), wherewith he is to do the signs. These are not the signs of *vv.* 2—9 for only *one* of them is connected with the 'rod,' but the wonders (portents) which God has put in his hand to be done *before Pharaoh* (*v.* 21). It seems clear that these two representations of the 'rod,' that in *vv.* 2—4, and that in *vv.* 17—21, are not from the same source.

On examining the account of the plagues (vii.—x.) a corresponding variety of representation may be observed. Sometimes Moses lifts up the rod, at others he is bidden to declare unto Pharaoh, that if he will not let the people go, God will smite him and his people. The infliction of the plague is then ascribed to direct Divine agency in the words 'and the LORD did so' (viii. 24), 'and the LORD did that thing on the morrow' (ix. 6). For details, the commentary should be consulted.

(2) The command to Moses in xxiv. 12 'Come up to me...,' and the words with which Moses, before obeying this command, takes leave of the children of Israel, 'Behold, Aaron and Hur are with you: whosoever hath a cause, let him come near unto them,' imply that both Moses and Aaron are *at the foot* of the mount. In *vv.* 9—11 both Moses and Aaron in company with the 'nobles of the children of Israel' are *upon* the mount. Exod. xxiv. 3—8 seems to be a continuation of ch. xxiii., and xxiv. 12—14 is an appropriate sequel to *vv.* 3—8; the two passages xxiv. 1, 2 and 9—11 form a continuous account, but, in their present positions, they impair the connexion[1] between ch. xxiii. and xxiv. 3—8, and between *vv.* 3—8 and *vv.* 12—14 of ch. xxiv. 12—14. The inference is that *two* accounts of an ascent have been combined in ch. xxiv.

One more instance of duplicate accounts in JE may be given, in which different *names* are assigned to the same person.

d. The father in law of Moses. References to Moses' father in law are found:

[1] In xxiv. 1 Moses is told to come up: though in fact (cp. xx. 21) he is *already in the mount*; but xxiv. 3 is the natural sequel to chap. xxiii.

a. In Exod. ii. 16—22, where he is called Reuel.

β. In Exod. iii. 1, iv. 18, xviii. 1—12, where he is called Jethro.

γ. In Num. x. 29 'Hobab the son of Reuel[1] the Midianite, Moses' father in law,' is invited to accompany the Israelites on their journey. In this passage 'Moses' father in law' may refer either to Hobab or to Reuel.

(1) If it refers to Hobab, it agrees with Judg. iv. 11 (A.V.) 'Hobab the father in law of Moses.' In Judg. i. 16 ('the children of the Kenite Moses' father in law' A.V.) the name Hobab seems to have dropped out before 'the Kenite': it is found in several MSS. of the LXX. If this be so, Hobab would be mentioned also here as the father in law of Moses.

Three different names, Reuel, Jethro, and Hobab, are thus given in these passages to the father in law of Moses; and Num. x. 29 introduces a further complication by representing Hobab as the *son* of Reuel.

But in Num. x. 29 'Moses' father in law' may refer to

(2) Reuel. If Reuel be Moses' father in law, as stated in Exod. ii. 18, Hobab the son of Reuel would be *brother in law* of Moses. R.V. by translating 'brother in law' in Judg. i. 16, iv. 11 adopts this view[2]. But the Heb. word *ḥothen* always means elsewhere 'father in law'; and the rendering of R.V. in these two passages is very uncertain. It seems to have been adopted as an inference from Num. x. 29 compared with Exod. ii. 18; it reduces complication, but does not remove the evidence for the duplicate account. The variation between Jethro and Reuel remains, and must either be explained, or accepted as indicating a double narrative.

The translation of R.V. marg. and A.V., which makes Hobab Moses' 'father in law' in Judg. i. 16, iv. 11 is much to be

[1] The 'Raguel' of A.V. is a variant form of the same Heb. name as that in Exod. ii. 18, derived from the LXX. and Vulg.

[2] R.V. by its translation in Judg. i. 16 refers the passage to Hobab, probably supposing that Hobab has dropped out.

preferred; and another suggestion for reducing complication may be considered.

The account in Exod. ii. 16—22 begins with a reference to the priest of Midian without mentioning his name; so in Exod. xviii. 13—27 no name is given to Moses' father in law. The name Reuel comes in rather strangely in *v.* 18; why should not the name have been given at once in ii. 16, where the priest of Midian is introduced? It has been conjectured that Reuel is a gloss, derived from a misunderstanding of Num. x. 29 (taking Reuel to be Moses' father in law, as in (2) above). If this conjecture be allowed, Reuel disappears as a name of Moses' father in law, and with it the *very* doubtful translation 'brother in law' of R.V. The variation between Jethro and Hobab, however, still remains, indicating a double narrative.

But it may be asked, Why, if a name was thought necessary in Exod. ii. 18, was it taken from the distant passage Num. x. 29, instead of from the adjacent Exod. iii. 1? Whether Reuel be a gloss or no, it seems certain that it was in the text *before* it was placed in such close proximity to iii. 1, where Jethro is mentioned.

Many of the Sabæan kings, and some of their priests, have two names; and it has been suggested that Jethro and Reuel may thus be actually two names of the same person. Granting this, however, it is *not* probable that one and the same writer would have used the *two* names, *each one by itself*, within a few verses of each other. Two[1] narratives, put together by a redactor, seem to be necessary to account satisfactorily for the present state of the text.

Whether the hypothesis that the name Hobab has dropped out in Judg. i. 16 be allowed or not, Judg. i. 16 and iv. 11 distinctly state that the family to which Moses became related by marriage was *Kenite*. In Exod. and Num. the family is designated as *Midianite*. Here are clearly two traditions found in Judges and Numbers; both in passages that do not belong

[1] Sayce, *EHH* p. 163 admits two traditions. He says 'Tradition has handed down more than one name for the high-priest of Midian.'

to P. There are also two traditions (at least) preserved in the Hexateuch about the name of Moses' father in law, and two sources (at least) must be assumed, in which are recorded these diverging accounts of Moses' relations by marriage, with reference both to their *names*, and to their *tribe*.

It should also be pointed out, that the writers who record these traditions must have lived at an age remote from that of Moses. During the lifetime of Moses and of Joshua, there would be no uncertainty about the ancestry and tribe of Moses' wife. Some generations must have passed away before such divergent traditions could have obtained currency.

The evidence brought forward in this section is weighty and varied: it points to the conclusion that JE is composite. The criteria for distinguishing between the sources are not so clear and decisive as in the previous investigation (the separation of P from JE in §§ i—iii). The strongly marked peculiarities of style and vocabulary observed in P do not present themselves in JE; hence in many cases the analysis is uncertain (*LOT*[8] pp. 116 f.). The grounds for effecting a separation do not lie on the surface, but are found by studying closely passages of considerable length: e.g. Gen. xx.—xxxv.; Exod. xix.—xxiv.; xxxii.—xxxiv.; Num. xx., xxi.; xxii.—xxiv.; Deut. i.—iii., and ix.—xi. in connexion with corresponding narratives in Exodus and Numbers. Some of these passages have been considered in the preceding pages; other portions will come under review in discussing the third proposition; but these sections should be read continuously with the help of the commentaries on the books in which they are found. Anyone who will undertake this study will find additional evidence that two (or more) sources are contained in JE; he will also find additional illustration of the difficulties that are met with in attempting to disentangle them. But if the reader is considering the authorship of the Hexateuch for the first time, he is advised to postpone the further study of JE here indicated[1], and go on to consider the next section.

[1] See the note at the commencement of this section.

v. Summary of the Evidence.

To sum up the evidence in support of the second Proposition :—

a. It has been shewn that :

- *α.* The variety in the use of the Divine Names in Gen. i. —Exod. vi. renders it probable that two sources (at least) can be traced in the Hexateuch (i. pp. 50 f.).
- *β.* This probability is increased when it is shewn from a consideration of Exod. vi. 2—8 that the avoidance of the name *Jehovah* is designed (ii. p. 67).

b. In an independent investigation, it has been shewn, by examining the style and phraseology of certain chapters in Genesis which contain different versions of the same incidents, that :

- *α.* Two sources can be traced in Gen. i.—xi. ; this conclusion is confirmed by
- *β.* A comparison of passages containing accounts of the promises made to the patriarchs. On the basis of results obtained in considering (*α*) and (*β*),
- *γ.* One source which by its very distinctly marked style and phraseology was separated from the rest in the book of Genesis, has been traced through the remainder of the Hexateuch, and its limits have been approximately indicated.

This source has been distinguished as P.

c. The remainder of the Hexateuch after P had been separated from it was shewn to be of a composite character. This composite character was indicated by the symbol JE.

d. It was also pointed out that the book Deuteronomy possesses a style and character of its own, and must be assigned to a different source from those already indicated.

The separation of P from JE is the first step in the analysis of the Hexateuch; and the preceding investigation has shewn that this separation is justified.

The evidence already adduced to shew that JE is composite is weighty, and has not been effectively challenged[1]. More detailed study of the books with the help of the commentaries will make this fact more clear.

The reader may think that Deuteronomy has not received sufficient attention. As a book which, except in a few parts, bears throughout a single stamp, it stands on a different footing from other portions of the Hexateuch which have been examined; it can be more effectively treated as a whole in the commentary upon it in this series. When considering the evidence in support of the third proposition, it will be necessary to determine the date of the book, and to describe its contents (see p. 142). Further remarks on Deuteronomy, with a list of Deuteronomic expressions, will be found in Appendix IV.

Before proceeding to discuss the third proposition, the conclusions already drawn may be once more stated.

(1) Traces of literary activity extending as far as the exile are found in the Hexateuch. From this it follows that various writers have contributed to the Hexateuch.

[The alternative, to assign all to the writer of latest date, would be accepted by none.]

[1] This statement is made deliberately, after careful perusal of much that has been written by opponents of the criticism that would separate J from E. Dr Orr does not succeed in shewing JE to be the work of a single hand. For instance, his treatment of the narratives in Gen. xx. and xxvi. (*Problem of the O.T.*, pp. 237—239) does not take into account *all* the facts; no reference is made to Gen. xxi. 22—32. The facts to which attention has been drawn in § iv. p. 99 (4) and (5), and the quotation from Prof. Sayce in the note, will shew that Gen. xxi. must not be omitted in estimating the evidence that JE is composite. On other points, also, his arguments are inconclusive.

(2) There are at least four sources, of which three are easily distinguished.

(3) More than one indication has been noted that

JE, D, P

is a *probable* historic sequence.

(4) *All* sources exhibit evidence that they belong to a period subsequent to that of Moses.

§ 3. THE THIRD PROPOSITION.

The laws contained in the Pentateuch consist of three separate codes which belong to different periods in the history of Israel.

i. General Description of the Laws.

The laws in the Pentateuch may be divided into three groups:

a. The laws in JE. A collection of laws in Exod. xxi.—xxiii. is introduced by the words 'These are the judgements which thou shalt set before them.' They are preceded by regulations about worship (xx. 23—26); and further regulations about worship are found in xxiii. 13—19. In xxiv. 3—8, it is recorded[1] that Moses wrote all the words of the Lord; after sacrifice had been offered, he read the book of the covenant to the people, and sprinkled the blood of the sacrifice on the people with the words, 'Behold the blood of the covenant, which the Lord hath made with you on (the basis of) these words[2].'

The Book of the Covenant includes the collection of laws in xx. 23—xxiii. 19, which may be distinguished as the 'Code of the Covenant,' or the 'Covenant Code.' It is apparently designed for an agricultural community, and contains precepts of a social, moral, religious, and ceremonial character. The smaller collection of laws on worship in xxxiv. 11—27 shews many points of similarity with this Covenant code, repeating *verbatim* several

[1] For a discussion of this passage see the commentary on Exodus.

[2] This, or R.V. marg. *upon all these conditions*, is a better rendering than 'concerning' in A.V. and R.V. These words or conditions are contained in chs. xx. 23—xxiii.

of the corresponding laws of the 'Code[1].' It is sometimes called the 'Little Book of the Covenant' (Briggs). The laws embodied in xiii. 3—7, 10—13 also belong to JE.

b. The laws in Deuteronomy. The Code embedded in Deut. xii.—xxvi. is introduced by the words 'These are the statutes and judgements...' (xii. 1); and the words 'This day the Lord thy God hath commanded thee to do these statutes and judgements' (xxvi. 16) form a conclusion to it. This may be called the 'Deuteronomic Code.'

c. The laws in the Priestly Code. The remaining laws of the Pentateuch are not gathered together into a compact code, like the first two groups; but legislation and narrative are combined, and some of the legislation arises out of occurrences related in the narrative (Num. ix. 6—14, xv. 32[2]—36). Most of these laws are found in the middle books of the Pentateuch (Exod. xxv.—Num. x.), and are represented as given at intervals during the stay at Sinai. Three chapters of legislation are assigned to the period of the journeyings (Num. xv., xviii., xix.), and additional laws to the time when the children of Israel were in the plains (or steppes) of Moab (see Num. xxvii.—xxxvi.). With these may be joined Gen. xvii. (institution of Circumcision), and parts[3] of Exod. xii. (institution of the Passover and Feast of Unleavened Cakes). These laws deal mainly with the sanctuary, priests and sacrifices, rites of purification, tithes and offerings, and may be distinguished as the 'Priestly code.'

The section Lev. xvii.—xxvi. deserves special notice. Most of the laws contained in these chapters have such a distinctive character that, though they are combined now with elements derived from P, they probably formed at one time an independent code; for they begin with regulations about the place of worship,

[1] The details are given in the note on p. 115.

[2] Note the indication of time: 'while the children of Israel were in the wilderness' (cf. Num. xxi. 13, 18). Clearly written *after* they had left the wilderness.

[3] For the parts see App. I.

and end with a hortatory discourse like the Covenant and Deuteronomic codes (Exod. xxiii. 20—33 ; Deut. xxviii.). The legislation of these chapters is marked by the stress laid on the idea of *holiness*, 'Ye shall be holy, for I the LORD your God am holy' (xix. 2). Of course, the assertion of God's holiness, and of the necessity that Israel, as the chosen people of God, should be holy, is found elsewhere; but in these chapters the two ideas are presented *in combination* with a repetition and emphasis which impart a unique character to this section[1] of the Priestly code. The phrase 'I am *Jehovah*' ('the LORD' in A.V. and R.V.) occurs nearly fifty times in this section ; with the additions '*which sanctify you*' (xx. 8 ; xxi. 8, 15, 23 ; xxii. 9, 16, 32), and 'I the LORD *am holy*' (xix. 2 ; xx. 26 ; xxi. 8). The obligation of the people to be holy, based on the holiness of its God, is enforced in the verse already quoted (xix. 2), and in xx. 26 ; it is implied in xx. 7, 8. To disregard this obligation is to 'profane' sacred things, which is prohibited with equal insistence (to profane—the name of the LORD, xviii. 21, xix. 12, xx. 3, xxi. 6, xxii. 2, 32 :—a holy thing or sanctuary, xix. 8, xxi. 12, 23, xxii. 15). See Driver, *LOT*[8] pp. 48—50. On account of the prominence given to the command 'Ye shall be holy,' and to the reason accompanying it, the section has been called the 'Law of Holiness,' and is frequently referred to as H.

ii. General Comparison of the Codes.

The character of the argument in support of Proposition 3 has already been indicated in Pt I. § 4. Before proceeding to apply the twofold comparison of p. 36 to particular cases, a few general remarks may be made on the relation of the three codes to one another, and to the narrative with which they are incorporated.

a. Comparison of D with JE. Exod. xxiv. 3—8 contains an account of the covenant which the Lord made with the

[1] See the note on p. 55. Here is a very good illustration of the *preference* and *combination* there referred to.

children of Israel at Sinai. The passage is the sequel[1] to ch. xxiii. and implies that the words of the Lord which Moses wrote in the 'Book of the covenant,' and read in the audience of the people, are contained in Exod. xx. 22—xxiii. 33, and form the basis of the covenant at Sinai. These words are *different* from the words of the Decalogue which were given to Moses *after* the sojourn in the mount for forty days and forty nights (cp. xxiv. 18; xxxi. 18).

Deuteronomy (xxix. 1) mentions two covenants: that which was made 'with the children of Israel in the land of Moab' (cf. *vv.* 1, 9, 12, 21), and that 'which he made with them in Horeb' (cf. iv. 13, 23, v. 2, 3, 22).

What was the covenant in Horeb? According to Deut. v. the Decalogue *only* was spoken by the Lord in Horeb, 'and he added no more' (*v.* 22). The people ask that they may not hear the voice of the Lord any more (*v.* 25), but that Moses may communicate to them any further message (*v.* 27). The Lord approves their request (*v.* 28); and commands Moses to stand by Him while He declares to him the statutes and judgements which he (Moses) is to teach them, that they may do them in the land when they have taken possession of it (*v.* 31).

These statutes and judgements are not made known to the people at once. The words of *v.* 31, 'which thou shalt teach,' do not require Moses to teach them at that time; and he declares them to the children of Israel in the land of Moab on the eve of passing over the Jordan. These statutes and judgements are contained in Deut. xii.—xxvi.; and with the discourse of ch. xxviii.[2] form the basis of the covenant made in the land of Moab. A comparison of Deut. v. 31 with vi. 1, 6, viii. 1, 11, xi. 8, shews that 'the commandment[3], and the statutes, and the judgements'

[1] See the remarks on this passage on p. 104.

[2] Not necessarily in its present form. The argument is not affected by allowing that the book of Deuteronomy may have been revised and augmented.

[3] Not the 'commandments' as A.V., which suggests to the English

spoken to Moses at Horeb are imparted to the people on the eve of passing over Jordan. This law, declared in the land of Moab (i. 5), is not a *repetition* of laws already promulgated at Sinai, but a series of enactments delivered to Moses at Horeb, and now, at the close of the journeyings, *for the first time made known* to Israel.

Here is a distinct difference between the two representations of the covenant at Sinai (Horeb). According to Deuteronomy the Decalogue *only* is the covenant at Horeb (iv. 13, v. 22). Whatever had been imparted to Moses at Horeb besides that, is communicated by him to the people in the land of Moab, and not before. But according to Exod. xx.—xxiv. the Book of the covenant was laid before the people (xxi. 1), and formed the basis of the covenant at Sinai described in xxiv. 3—8. The inference to be drawn from this diversity of view is that

The writer of Deut. v.—xxvi., xxviii.[1] *was not acquainted with Exod. xx. 22—xxiv. in its present position.*

It is however quite certain that many of the laws of the Covenant code were known to the author of Deut. xii.—xxvi.[2]

It follows therefore that though the laws of Exod. xx. 22—xxiii. 18 (or some of them) were in existence when Deut. xii.—xxvi. and v.—xi. were written, they had not yet been brought into connexion with the Sinai narrative as they now stand in Exod. xx.—xxiv.[3]; for no one who had read those chapters in their present form could describe the covenant at Horeb as

reader a reference to the Decalogue, or 'Ten Words,' but the 'commandment,' i.e. the Deuteronomic legislation generally.

[1] The possibility of portions having been added to an earlier form of these chapters is not lost sight of. Cp. note 2 on p. 113.

[2] Evidence in support of this statement will be found later on p. 230. Consult also the commentary on Deuteronomy in this series.

[3] Or if Exod. xx.—xxiv. was in existence as a whole, it was not known in that shape to the author of Deuteronomy; for he knows the Decalogue and the Book of the Covenant (or parts of it) *separately*, but *not in juxtaposition*.

limited to the Ten Words. The author of Deut. does so describe the covenant at Horeb; therefore he had not before him the statements in Exod. xx.—xxiv. as they now stand.

This conclusion throws light on the probable growth of the Sinaitic narrative. A collection of laws which is now found incorporated with the legislation at Sinai, was known (or partly known) to the Deuteronomist, but not regarded by him as part of the Sinaitic legislation. May there not be other laws which, when they were recognized as authoritative, were by such recognition considered as breathing the spirit of the first great lawgiver, and embodied in the account of the Mosaic legislation?

Another account of a 'covenant' at Sinai is contained in Exod. xxxiv. 10—27. Like that in Exod. xxiv. 3—8, it states that the words which Moses is commanded to write formed the basis of a covenant (*v.* 27). 'These words' in *v.* 27 refer to the precepts contained in *vv.* 10—26. They are chiefly ceremonial regulations, which are closely parallel to those contained in Exod. xxiii. 12 ff.[1] The similarity between the regulations of

[1] The relation between the 'Little Book of the Covenant' (see p. 111) and the Book of the Covenant is shewn in the following table:

Exod. xxxiv.		Exod. xxiii.
18	=	15
20*c*	=	15*c*
21	=	12
22	=	16
23	=	17
25	=	18
26	=	19
		xiii.
18*	=	6*a*
19	=	12
20	=	13

* the middle clause

Exod. xxxiv.		Exod. xxiii.
11	=	23
12, 15	=	32, 33
13	=	24
14	=	24

14 = xx. 3, 5
Cp. Josh. xxiv. 14, 20
17 = xx. 23
21 = xx. 9

The parallels in the first column shew verbal identity with ch. xxiii. and ch. xiii.: those in the second column are not so close, and are from

xxxiv. 10—26 and xxiii. 12 ff., and the fact that xxiv. 8 and xxxiv. 27 both record a covenant based on laws written by Moses (for it may be assumed that the Divine command in xxxiv. 27 was obeyed) render it probable that xxiv. 3—8 and xxxiv. 10—27 are duplicate accounts. Be that as it may, the inference on p. 114 with reference to the *covenant* of xxiv. 3—8 may be applied to the *covenant* described in xxxiv. 10—27: the writer of Deut. was not acquainted with this latter passage in its present position. The connexion between *vv.* 27 and 28 has been much discussed:

(*a*) The common interpretation of *v.* 28*b* (from 'And he wrote...') considers that it is a continuation of the account in *v.* 1 and *v.* 4, recording the writing of the Decalogue by *Jehovah* on the tables as promised in *v.* 1. Cp. Deut. x. 1—4 (see p. 82).

Of those who consider *v.* 28 as the continuation of *v.* 27;

(*b*) Some identify 'the words of the covenant, the ten words' in *v.* 28 with 'these words' in *v.* 27, and with the regulations of *vv.* 12—26, which (in their view) were originally 'ten' in number. Moses is then regarded as the subject of the verb in *v.* 28*b*. According to this view, there were two traditions with reference to what was written on the tables, and 'the Ten Words' denoted here the original 'ten' laws of xxxiv. 12 ff., and in Deut. iv. 13, x. 4 the Decalogue of Deut. v.

(*c*) Others are not satisfied with the attempts that have been made to reduce the regulations of *vv.* 12—26 to the number ten, and doubt whether the phrase 'the Ten Words' in *v.* 28 should be taken as referring to them. They suggest that it is a gloss of a later scribe who understood (wrongly) 'the words of the covenant' to mean the Decalogue. The expression 'the Ten Words' occurs elsewhere only in Deut. iv. 13, x. 4, where it undoubtedly refers to the Decalogue of Exod. xx.

the hortatory discourse at the end of the Book of the Covenant. Two of the commands (*vv.* 14, 21) may be compared with the second and fourth commandments; but they have parallels in xx. 23 and xxiii. 24.

and Deut. v. According to this view, the account in Exod. xxxiv., in its original form (without the three last words of *v.* 28), agrees with that in Exod. xxiv. 3—8 in describing a covenant based on words written by Moses.

Whichever interpretation be adopted,

Either:

The covenant of Exod. xxxiv. is the *same* as that of Deut. iv. 13 based on the Decalogue: then the two accounts of the covenant at Horeb (Sinai) are so different (with, according to one interpretation, divergent applications of the phrase 'the Ten Words') that they must be from different authors;

Or:

The covenant of Exod. xxxiv. is *different* from that of Deuteronomy: then it is evident that the writer of Deuteronomy was unacquainted with Exod. xxxiv. 10—27. He describes the covenant in Horeb as founded on the Decalogue *only*, and followed by a second covenant made in the land of Moab. How could he have written thus, if he had known that there were *two* covenants described as having been made at Sinai, one in Exod. xxiv., and the other in Exod. xxxiv.?

Diversity of authorship (i.e. that D and JE are not from the same source) follows, whichever alternative be adopted.

b. Comparison of D with P. The portions of the Sinaitic narrative in Exodus which have just been considered are assigned by general consent to JE[1]. But the bulk of the legislation contained in the Pentateuch belongs to P, and the question naturally arises: What is the relation between D and P?

According to P's account, when Israel arrived at Sinai (xix. 1, 2*a*), the glory of the Lord abode on mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it six days: on the seventh day God called Moses up into the Mount (xxiv. 16—18), and gave him instructions for making the Ark, the Tabernacle with its vessels, and the priestly garments (xxv.—xxix., with xxx.—xxxi. as a supplement). On

[1] The comments in the preceding pages strengthen the argument in Prop. 2 § iv. in favour of the composite character of JE.

his return Moses issues these instructions to the people, who prepare all the material required; the Tabernacle and its appurtenances are constructed (xxxv.—xxxix.); the Tabernacle is set up (xl.), and further instructions are given in Leviticus and Num. i.—x. 28; after Sinai has been left, further enactments are issued during the journeyings (Num. xv., xviii., xix.), and in the plains of Moab (Num. xxviii.—xxxvi.).

The laws which are thus given by P are, as a rule, imparted through Moses. A direct communication to Aaron is found, Lev. x. 8; Num. xviii. 1, 8, 20; in some cases Moses and Aaron are addressed (Lev. xi. 1; xiii. 1; xv. 1; Num. ii. 1; iv. 1; xix. 1; xx. 12, 23); but as a rule the words of the Lord are delivered to Moses, with an instruction, 'Speak unto Aaron,' or 'Speak unto Aaron and unto his sons' (Lev. vi. 9, 25; xvi. 2; Num. vi. 23; viii. 1); sometimes, 'Speak unto Eleazar the son of Aaron' (xvi. 37); or the instruction is, 'Speak unto (sometimes, 'Command') the children of Israel, and say unto them' (Exod. xxv. 2; xxxi. 13; Lev. i. 2; iv. 2; vii. 29; xii. 2; xxvii. 2; Num. v. 2, 6, 12; vi. 2; ix. 10; xv. 2, 18, 38; xvii. 2; xxviii. 2; xxxiv. 2; xxxv. 2, 10).

Thus according to P, a series of statutes are given during the stay at Sinai; they are supplemented during the journeyings, and a last addition is made in the plains of Moab. The instruction of Israel in the law is spread over the whole period of the journeyings. The writer of Deuteronomy makes no reference to this elaborate system of sacrifice, worship, and law; and his account of the legislation *leaves no room for it.* The covenant at Horeb was the 'Ten Words'; and there is no intimation that any further commands were issued to the people during their stay at Sinai, or during their journeyings[1]. The instructions

[1] The writer of Deut. might indeed think of Moses as issuing instructions for the guidance of the people during their journeyings. Such instructions, having been received from God, might be described as statutes and judgements; and if the instructions were of a permanent character, they might anticipate some command or other found in chs. xii.—xxvi. Such instructions may be referred to in Deut. i. 18,

which Moses received from God at Horeb were for the guidance of the people in the Promised Land; they were not needed during their progress to Canaan, and accordingly they were not imparted till the final encampment in the field of Moab. The representation of the lawgiving in the Priestly Code is different; it records a series of enactments issued by God through Moses during the whole period of the forty years. The book of Deuteronomy not only *ignores* this continued legislative activity; it *excludes* it. When it is remembered that P's legislation in the *plains* of Moab is assigned to a period immediately preceding that in which the second Deuteronomic covenant was made in the *land* of Moab, the absence in Deuteronomy of any allusion to the concluding chapters of Numbers is very remarkable.

The silence of Deuteronomy with regard to matters contained in P is sometimes explained by saying that Deuteronomy is addressed to the people, and omits reference to priestly ritual. But the legislation in P is addressed to both priests and people (see reff. on p. 118); even precepts referring to sacrifice and ritual purity are delivered directly to the people (Lev. xii., Num. xxviii., xxix.). Though the Priestly code contains the priests' ritual, it contains also, like the other codes, laws for the people. The explanation offered only accounts for the silence of Deuteronomy with regard to a part of P, viz. that part which contains regulations for the priests. Reference is made in Deuteronomy to laws already in existence; to some of the laws in the Covenant code[1], and to regulations about leprosy (xxiv. 8). The book also specifies the kinds of food that may and may not be eaten[2].

iv. 5. But action of this kind on the part of Moses does not affect the general view expressed in Deut. that no *formal code* other than the Decalogue was issued at Sinai. The writer of Deut. would not have expressed himself as he has done, if he had been acquainted with P.

[1] Compare the remarks on p. 114, and those in the section dealing with the laws about slavery (p. 125).

[2] These passages are often quoted as proving that Deuteronomy is acquainted with the legislation of P. The Deuteronomic view of the

Why, when specifying with some minuteness the sacrifices and offerings that should be brought (Deut. xii. 6, 11, 17), is no reference made to precepts issued to *the people* a few months before on the same subject (Num. xxviii., xxix.)? A similar question may be asked with reference to an important ordinance contained in P, to which Deuteronomy makes no allusion; that concerning the Great Day of Atonement. The observance of that day is most strictly enjoined: whoever does not afflict his soul in that day shall be cut off, and the Lord will destroy the soul that doeth work on that day from among his people (Lev. xxiii. 29, 30). A law so *necessary for all* must find a place in a code which contains the statutes and judgements to be observed in the land which the Lord God is giving to Israel. That it is *not* included in the covenant made in the land of Moab admits of but one explanation; the author of Deuteronomy knew nothing of such a law.

Both in Numbers and Deuteronomy, the great lawgiver, when told he is not to enter the Promised Land, is represented as giving final instructions before his approaching departure. These instructions are found in Num. xxviii.—xxxvi., and in Deuteronomy. It has been pointed out (pp. 118 f.) that the Deuteronomic view of the *whole* legislation as consisting of (1) the Decalogue given at Sinai, (2) the legislation given in the land of Moab, leaves no room for any legislation at Sinai or in Moab, besides the laws contained in Deut. xii.—xxvi. (Cf. xxix. 1, 9, 12, 21.) These laws are entirely different from any of P's Sinaitic laws, and from those in Num. xxviii.—xxxvi., which are obviously to be assigned to P, as they exhibit un-

whole legislation, as embodied in the two covenants at Horeb and in the land of Moab, excludes the idea of the Priestly code *as part of the Sinaitic legislation*. Priestly *Torah* was no doubt in existence when Deuteronomy was written, and is referred to; but such *Torah* was not then generally recognized as having been imparted at Sinai. Compare the remarks about the Covenant code on pp. 114 f.

mistakable marks of his style. The lawgiver as depicted in Deut. could not have imparted these laws in Num. xxvii.—xxxvi. only a few months before. (Cp. the dates in Num. xxxiii. 38 and Deut. i. 3.) Among the laws contained in Num. xxvii.—xxxvi. is one (that referring to the cities of refuge) which has its parallel in the Deuteronomic legislation. It will be instructive to compare the two versions in Num. xxxv. 9—34, and Deut. xix. 1—13.

The Deuteronomic account gives no name to the cities: that in Numbers describes them as 'forty *and six* cities of reception', a term found elsewhere only in Josh. xx., xxi., where the carrying out of the law in Numbers is described, and in 1 Chron. vi. 57, 67 in a list of the Levitical cities clearly taken from Josh. xxi. (see Josh. xxi. 13, 21).

Three cities only are specified in Deut. xix. 2, 7: with a proviso that 'if the Lord enlarge thy border,' three more cities should be added. Num. xxxv. 13, 14 fixes the number at six, three on each side of the Jordan[1]. The six cities are set apart by Joshua (Josh. xx.). The same writer would not enjoin six cities, and within a few months speak of them as three.

In Deuteronomy, 'the elders of his city' are to send and fetch the murderer *from* the city of refuge, to deliver him to the avenger of blood for death. Some investigation of the case is here supposed: and the course of fetching him from the city of refuge for death would be adopted only if he were judged guilty. As no mention of any other authority is made, it would seem that the judgement was pronounced by 'the elders of his city.' Elders are often represented as exercising judicial functions (cf. Driver, *Deut.*, pp. 200, 235). But in Num. xxxv. 12 the judgement rests with the 'congregation,' an expression frequently occurring in P, but not in D or JE. Apparently, 'the congregation' is that of the city of refuge. It might be said that when

[1] See the commentary on Deuteronomy for a discussion of Deut. iv. 41—43 in connexion with this law. The difference in the representation of *three* and *six* exists, whatever view be adopted with reference to that passage.

the murderer had been condemned by 'the congregation' (Num. xxxv. 12, 24, 25), 'the elders of his city' (Deut. xix. 12) fetched him from the city of refuge. But if this were so, it is strange that Deuteronomy makes no reference at all to 'the congregation.'

The version in Numbers contains many expressions characteristic of P, e.g. the introductory formula 'Speak unto the children of Israel and say unto them,' 'soul' (*nephesh*) in the sense of person, 'throughout your generations,' 'in all your dwellings' (*v.* 29). None of these are found in Deuteronomy. The time of sojourn in the city of refuge 'till the death of the high priest, which was anointed with the holy oil' (Num. xxxv. 25) is expressed in terms peculiar to P. Deuteronomy does not indicate any limit to the sojourn.

Accidental homicide is described in Num. xxxv. 11, 15 as done in ignorance (Heb. *bishgāgāh*, *unwittingly* R.V.), a word regularly used in P (Lev. iv. 2, 22, 27; v. 15; xxii. 14; Num. xv. 24, 26—29). Deuteronomy has *bibhlī da'ath*, *unawares* R.V. (iv. 42; xix. 4 *ignorantly* A.V.).

The descriptions given, and especially the illustrations distinguishing accidental from intentional homicide, are entirely different in the two passages. With the exception of the words 'manslayer,' and 'flee thither,' no similarity can be traced between them.

Also the reasons assigned for such a law are expressed differently. In Deuteronomy, the object stated is 'that innocent blood be not shed in thy land'; in Numbers, the idea that 'the land wherein Jehovah dwells in the midst of the children of Israel' should not be defiled, is one which lies at the base of P's legislation.

The reader may be left to form his own judgement whether it is probable that these two passages were both written by the same person. When it is remembered that Moses has already been told that he is not to go over Jordan into the Promised Land, the question may be asked: Is it probable that within the few months allotted to him, he would issue *two* laws on the

same subject, with such remarkable differences between them, both addressed to the children of Israel?

iii. Comparison of Particular Laws.

The general comparison of the codes in the preceding section (while incidentally furnishing additional evidence that JE is composite) has shewn that the accounts of the legislation at Sinai are widely divergent in JE, D, and P. A detailed examination of the laws will throw light on these divergences. The twofold comparison already indicated (p. 36) will first be applied to the laws about slavery.

a. Laws relating to slavery.

The laws relating to the Hebrew slave are found in:

Exod. xxi. 2—11.
Deut. xv. 12—18.
Lev. xxv. 39—55.

a. Comparison of the laws with one another.

An examination of these laws points distinctly to the conclusion that they cannot be practically contemporaneous, but must have been gradually developed; and that the three groups in Exodus, Deuteronomy, and Leviticus represent successive stages of this development.

The laws of Exodus, Deuteronomy, and Leviticus are given in the following table in parallel columns; the words that are identical in Exod. and Deut. are in *italics*[1]; words in Leviticus in *italics* are found also in Exod. or Deut.; if in both, then the

[1] The text is that of R.V., except that 'bondman' and 'bondwoman' are inserted from R.V. marg., in order to make it clear that the same Heb. words are used in all three passages. The similarity is closer than the italicised words indicate, e.g. 'he shall be thy bondman for ever' (Deut. xv. 17) is identical in meaning with 'and he shall serve him for ever' (Exod. xxi. 6). 'Serve' and 'bondman' are cognate, i.e. derived from the same root in Hebrew; just as the English 'serve' and 'servant.'

Exod. xxi.

2 If thou buy an *Hebrew* bondman, *six years he shall serve*: and *in the seventh* he shall go out *free* for nothing.
3 If he come in by himself, he shall go out by himself:...
4 If his master give him a wife,... the wife and her children shall be her master's, and he shall go out by himself.

5 *But if* the bondman *shall* plainly *say*, I *love* my master my wife and my children, *I will not go out* free:

6 Then his master shall bring him unto God[1] and shall bring him *to the door*, or unto the door post; and his master shall bore *his ear* through with an *awl*; and he shall serve him *for ever*.
7 And if a man sell his daughter to be a *bondwoman*, she shall not go out as the bondmen do.

Deut. xv.

12 If thy brother, an *Hebrew* [man], or an Hebrew [woman], be sold unto thee, and *serve thee six years*; then *in the seventh* year thou shalt let him go *free* from thee.
13 And when thou lettest him go free from thee, thou shalt not let him go empty. 14...
15 And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt,...
16 And it shall be, *if he shall say* unto thee, *I will not go out* from thee; because he *loveth* thee and thine house, because he is well with thee;
17 then thou shalt take an *awl* and thrust it through *his ear* unto *the door* and he shall be thy bondman *for ever*. And also unto thy *bondwoman* thou shalt do likewise.

Lev. xxv.

39 If thy brother be waxen poor with thee and *sell himself unto thee*; thou shalt not make him
40 to serve as a *bondman*: as an hired servant...he shall serve with thee unto the year of ju-
41 bile: then shall he go out from thee, he and his children with him....
42 For they are my bondmen which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt: they shall not be sold
44 as *bondmen*... But as for thy bondmen and thy bondmaids which thou shalt have; of the nations that are round about you, of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids.
45 Moreover of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you...shall ye buy....
46 And ye shall make them an inheritance for your children after you, to hold for a possession; of them shall ye take your bondmen for ever.

[1] Or, the judges, R.V.m. and A.V.

words are in *italics* in all three columns; but *italics* in the third column *only* indicate words found *either* in Exod. *or* Deut.

The laws in the first two columns may first be compared:

It is clear that *either*: (*a*) one of these accounts is dependent on the other; *or*, (*b*) both are derived from some common source.

The variations in the Deuteronomic law deserve notice. Its opening words, 'If thy brother,' sound a note which may be heard throughout the whole of this legislation. The brotherhood of all who have been redeemed from a common bondage is the principle which should guide every Israelite in dealing with his neighbour[1]. In xv. 13—15 the principle of the common brotherhood is applied practically and enforced by reference to the bondage in Egypt. These verses are peculiar to, and characteristic of Deuteronomy, as also verse 18, which promises God's blessing on him who treats his less fortunate brother in a generous spirit.

A difference in the treatment of female slaves is clearly indicated. The Deuteronomic law begins with a reference to 'the Hebrew or Hebrewess,' and ends with 'and also unto thy bondwoman thou shalt do likewise.' There is no difference in the treatment of the sexes; but in Exod. xxi. 7 it is expressly ordered 'she shall not go out as the bondmen do.' The difference must be recognized, as well as that which it implies—a changed social condition of woman, and, consequently, a considerable interval between the times at which the two laws were promulgated.

According to Exod. xxi. 4, the wife and children, if the wife was given to the bondman during his term of service, were treated as the master's chattels: the bondman might go; but only on the condition that wife and children were left. If the argument from *silence* be allowed, it would appear that a more humane treatment of the bondman was customary at the time when Deuteronomy was written. This change of custom would indicate that the law of Deuteronomy was later than that of Exodus.

[1] Cp. xv. 2—11; xix. 18, 19; xxii. 1—4; xxiii. 19, 20 in illustration.

Another difference appears in the ceremony which inaugurates life long service. The action of the master is described in nearly the same words in both laws. He pierces through the ear of the bondservant with an awl into the door. But in Exod. xxi. 6 the master is to bring his slave 'to God' R.V., or 'to the judges' A.V.[1] Something is here prescribed as introductory to the ceremony of boring the ear which has been omitted in Deuteronomy. The omission is a notable one, and intentional. Some portion of the ceremony as described in Exodus had fallen into disuse or discredit in the time of the Deuteronomist.

Both laws are intended for *settled life* in Palestine, but if both laws were given in the wilderness, why should the earlier law of Exodus require modification after the Israelites had spent 40 years in a *nomad* condition? The differences between the two laws may be most easily accounted for by the supposition that the law of Deut. was introduced at a later date, and represents such modification of the original law of Exodus as was found necessary, after the children of Israel had been for some time in possession of the land.

Very different both in language and thought is the law contained in Lev. xxv. 39—46. The laws in Exodus and Deuteronomy refer to a definite class of Hebrew bondservants: nothing is said about these in Leviticus; but a particular case, that of the free Israelite who becomes a bondman, as in 2 Kings iv. 1, Neh. v. 5, is mentioned. The Israelite who on account of poverty is reduced to the position of a bondman is not to be treated as such by his brother Israelite but as a hired servant, and in the year of jubile he is to return to his family. As in that year each man returns to his own possession, he will then be able to support himself and his family (xxv. 39—41).

A more general view of bondage follows: all Israelites are

[1] A.V. is a paraphrase; the judge is the representative of God (Deut. i. 17); so Exod. xxii. 8, 9. The decision was probably delivered at the sanctuary in the earliest times. Cf. Judg. iv. 4, 5, and (for a solemn agreement) xi. 11. Cp. p. 51.

the bondmen of *Jehovah*; He rescued them from the bondage of Egypt, and they shall not be sold as bondmen (xxv. 42). But they may 'buy bondmen and bondmaids' (the same words as in Exod. xxi. 2, 7) of the nations that are round about, or of the foreigners that sojourn among them (xxv. 44—46). The idea of treating any Israelite as a bondservant is repudiated on the ground that he is a brother, and that all alike are 'servants' (the same Heb. word as 'bondmen') of *Jehovah* (xxv. 42, 46). Here is a fundamental difference of conception, which may be accounted for on the supposition that in course of time the idea of an Israelite occupying the position of a bondservant became repugnant to the national feeling. The ideas of common brotherhood and common deliverance from bondage lie at the base of the Deuteronomic legislation. It is conceived in a humanitarian spirit, which, however, still allows the Hebrew to enslave his brother (Deut. xv. 12—18). The Levitical legislation marks a further step in the development of these ideas, and draws the inference that the Lord's bondmen must not be bondmen one to another[1]. Such a view of the position of an Israelite must belong to the last stage in the development.

On the assumption that JE, D, P represent successive steps in the treatment of an Israelite bondservant, the whole legislation with respect to slavery appears in historic sequence and presents no difficulty; but on the supposition that JE and P were set forth in the *same year* at Sinai, and D promulgated about 40 years later, the inconsistency of the three laws is inexplicable. According to Lev. xxv. Moses communicates to the people a law forbidding them to treat a Hebrew as a bondman,

[1] The principle enunciated in Lev. xxv. 42 ('they are my servants') is by some writers taken as applying only to the case treated in *vv.* 39—41. But the principle as re-stated in ver. 55 is in general terms ('the children of Israel are my servants'); and the close parallelism between the words of Exod. xxi. 2, 7 and Lev. xxv. 44—46 implies that the permission to acquire a Hebrew slave contemplated in the law of Exod. is withdrawn in Lev., and only non-Israelites are allowed as slaves.

and requiring them to let such as were obliged to sell themselves on account of poverty go out in the jubile; thereby practically repealing the law of Exodus given only a few months before. According to Deut. the same lawgiver less than 40 years afterwards enacts a law which permits a Hebrew to be made a bondman for life; thereby re-enacting the law of Exod. xxi. 2—6, and at the same time permitting that which had been forbidden by the law in Leviticus.

β. Comparison with the history.

No definite reference to any of these laws about slavery can be traced in the historical books[1] before the time of Jeremiah. An incident which occurred during the siege of Jerusalem illustrates the position of the Hebrew slave in the last days of the Kingdom (Jer. xxxiv. 8—22). Zedekiah had made a covenant with the people to release their bondservants, and they had let them go; but afterwards they brought them back into subjection. For this breach of covenant Jeremiah declares that they shall be given into the hand of their enemies. The language is evidently based on the law contained in Deut. xv. The mention of Hebrew or Hebrewess (xxxiv. 9), the letting bondman and bondmaid go free (ver. 10), at the end of six years' service (ver. 14), shew an acquaintance with the Deuteronomic form of the law. The law recognized by the prophet—the law of the Hebrew nation towards the end of the monarchy—was that of Deuteronomy.

There seems to be in the prophet's mind the *idea* contained in Lev. xxv. 42, 46, that no Jew should be a bondservant. But it has *not yet been formulated as a law.* The prophet appeals to the Deuteronomic law[2] (xxxiv. 13, 14), and says that this law

[1] The incident in 2 Kings iv. 1—7 shews that children might be sold by a creditor as payment for debt.

[2] Observe that the law is referred to as given 'in the day that I brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.' The words 'in the day that I brought them forth out of the land of Egypt' occur also in Jer. vii. 22, xi. 4, 7, xxxi. 32. The phrase

had not been observed by their fathers; but that they had now obeyed it by proclaiming liberty every man to his neighbour (verses 14, 15).

The expression 'that none should serve himself of them' (Jer. xxxiv. 9) is found also in Jer. xxii. 13; xxv. 14; xxvii. 17; xxx. 8. It is employed in Lev. xxv. 46 and Exod. i. 14 (both P); and also the expression 'proclaim liberty' (Jer. xxxiv. 8, 15, 17) occurs in Lev. xxv. 10.

The development of the law seems clearly indicated in the history. Jeremiah, in appealing to the Deuteronomic law, uses language which implies that one Jew should not be in bondage to another. This idea is expressed in the law of Lev. xxv. 39—46 which also employs Jeremiah's phrase 'none shall serve himself of them' (see above). But it is not appealed to *as law* by Jeremiah; it is still prophetical *Torah* in his time.

It appears to have been the same for some time after the Return from captivity: in the time of Nehemiah the distress was so great that many had borrowed money, and brought into bondage their sons and daughters (Neh. v. 4, 5). Nehemiah was very angry and contended with the nobles and the rulers. He *reasons* with them on the impropriety of exacting usury, and selling their brethren into bondage. Would he have *remonstrated* on the subject of bondage, if Lev. xxv. 39—46, expressly forbidding it, had been then in existence as a law? The hardships of the returned exiles prompted their leaders to frame laws for their relief; and the law against bondage (Lev. xxv. 42—46), which was the logical sequence to Jeremiah's reproof and Nehemiah's remonstrance, eventually found its place in the statute book of Israel.

'in the day' must not be taken literally, and probably means no more than 'at that time'; the reference, however, seems to be to the *beginning*, rather than to the *end* of the journeyings. If the prophet knew the law as a part of the complete Book of Deut., would it not have been represented as proclaimed in the land of Moab (Deut. xxix. 1)?

b. Laws relating to worship.

A comparison of the regulations affecting worship will confirm the inferences drawn in the preceding section. The central idea of O.T. worship is sacrifice; and for its regulation *four* questions must be answered:

To the question	α. **Where?**	the answer will indicate	the **place** of worship.
	β. **When?**		the **times** at which men *must* or *may* offer sacrifice or gifts.
	γ. **What?**		the different **kinds** of sacrifice and offering.
	δ. **Who?**		the **persons** qualified to offer sacrifice.

A further question, If certain persons are set apart to offer sacrifice, what provision should be made for their support? may be considered in connexion with question (δ).

If the answers to these questions supplied by the different codes be examined, it will be found that in fulness of detail, and extent of obligation, the code of D occupies a middle place between the other two codes.

The historical books record many acts of sacrifice, and supply details with respect to the manner in which worship was celebrated. Many references, direct and incidental, to altar and offering, priest and sanctuary, occur throughout the books of the O.T. The material for a twofold comparison like that which has already been made in the case of slaves, exists, and in much greater abundance. To treat this material at all completely would involve writing the religious history of the nation[1], an undertaking of greater length and complexity than the limits of this Introduction permit. Only a few points can here be briefly considered; for further information the works mentioned in

[1] This has been done by Ottley in *The Religion of Israel*, and by Kautzsch in his article in *DB* extra vol. pp. 612—734. The outline which follows should be supplemented by reference to these writers.

Pt I. § 4, pp. 36 f., and those referred to in the note at the foot of page 130 may be consulted.

a. THE PLACE OF WORSHIP.

(1) *Comparison of the codes with one another.*

(i) *The laws in JE.* The Covenant code allows an altar of earth *or* of unhewn stone; implying the existence of more than one altar, and also of one different from the altar of wood overlaid with brass (bronze) enjoined in Exod. xxvii. 1—8. An altar may be erected at any place where the Lord causes His name to be remembered (Exod. xx. 24—26). The law of Exod. xxii. 29, 30, which enjoins that firstlings should be given to the Lord on the eighth day from birth, implies that an altar was near at which they might be presented. The precepts of Exod. xxi. 6 'bring him unto God,' xxii. 8, 9 'come before God' could not be observed if there were but one sanctuary. These precepts assume that the parties concerned can come before God at some place not far distant from their place of residence. 'The first of the firstfruits of thy ground thou shalt bring into the house of the LORD thy God,' a precept which occurs both in Exod. xxiii. 19, and in xxxiv. 26, may refer to the sanctuary at which the Ark was kept, to which annual pilgrimages were made (1 Sam. i. 3, 7, 21; ii. 19).

(ii) *The law in Deuteronomy.* The injunctions of the Deuteronomic code with respect to the place of worship are clear and emphatic. To 'the place which the LORD your God shall choose to cause his name to dwell there' (xii. 11); to that place, and that alone, shall sacrifice and oblation be brought. 'Thou mayest not eat within thy gates (i.e. in the city where thou dwellest) the tithe of thy corn, or of thy wine, or of thine oil, or the firstlings of thy herd or of thy flock, nor any of thy vows which thou vowest, nor thy freewill offerings, nor the heave offering[1] of thine hand: but thou shalt eat them before the LORD

[1] This expression refers to gifts taken from the produce of the soil (the firstfruits and firstlings); cp. Num. xv. 19—21. The word

thy God in the place which the LORD thy God shall choose' (xii. 17, 18).

A limitation is here introduced which is not apparent in the Covenant code. It has already been shewn, in considering the laws about slavery (p. 125), that Deuteronomy, though shewing acquaintance with precepts contained in Exod. xxi. 2 ff., extends and modifies the usages there prescribed. In the opening chapter of the Deuteronomic code, the principle of the one sanctuary is enunciated and enforced with repeated warning and entreaty. (In addition to the verses already quoted, note Deut. xii. 5, 13, 14, 26.) If the regulations about the three pilgrimage feasts in Exod. xxiii. 14—17, xxxiv. 18, 22, 23 be compared with those in Deut. xvi., and the frequent references in *vv.* 2, 6, 7, 11, 15, 16 to 'the place which the LORD thy God shall choose' be observed, the inference to be drawn seems clear: in the Deuteronomic enunciation of these laws an important ***additional regulation*** is introduced, viz. that which determines the ***place*** of worship.

The manner in which this precept is urged gives the impression that something new is demanded. No reference is made to a previous law, but it is implied that the existing practice of the people is unsatisfactory. 'Ye shall not do after all the things which we do here this day, every man whatsoever is right in his own eyes' (Deut. xii. 8). An excuse seems to be offered in the following verse: the people are not yet settled in peaceful possession of the land; but when they 'dwell in safety' (*v.* 10), irregular and arbitrary worship must cease, and the ordinance of the one sanctuary must be observed (*vv.* 11—18).

This limitation of sacrifice and worship to one place is not

*t*ᵉ*rūmāh* (heave-offering) means that which is lifted up, taken off from a gift or sacrifice, as a special oblation, and it may be applied even to land (Ezek. xlv. 1). It is extremely doubtful whether a rite of 'elevation,' such as is implied in the English rendering 'heave-offering,' was practised when offering these gifts; such a rite is probably a later element in Jewish sacrificial ritual. See Dillmann on Lev. vii. 33, and the article 'Offering' in *DB* vol. ii. p. 588.

enforced until the time of peaceful settlement. From a comparison of Deut. xii. 10 with 1 Kings v. 4, it appears that 'rest' from enemies on every side was secured in the reign of Solomon. In this indication of date, Deuteronomy is at one with the redactor of the books of Kings, who mentions sacrifice offered at the high places before the building of the temple without imputing blame, 'because there was no house built unto the name of the LORD' (1 Kings iii. 2), but regards all such sacrifices offered after that event as irregular. According to these writers, the building of Solomon's temple forms an epoch in the history of worship. But P's representation of the period before the building of the temple is different.

(iii) The Priestly code gives directions about the Tabernacle and the altar, and has regard to the requirements of the people during their journeyings. It assumes the existence of one sanctuary, and one altar 'before the door of the Tent of meeting,' to which alone sacrifices might be brought. As the principles of this priestly legislation are valid for all time (the statutes are in perpetuity, ordinances for ever 'throughout your generations'), it implies that the future worship of the people will be regulated in accordance with those principles. According to P, the ordinance of the one sanctuary has been established from the beginning; according to D, it is introduced under the monarchy. Moses is pleading in Deuteronomy for the principle of the one sanctuary, as an ideal to be realized in the future; but the Priestly legislation sets forth the one sanctuary as already in the midst of the children of Israel.

In proceeding to compare the codes with the history, the first question is: What light does the history throw on the important point of difference between the Deuteronomic code and its predecessor the code of the Covenant?

(2) *The place of worship in the history.*

(i) *To the fall of the Northern Kingdom.* Throughout the books of Judges and Samuel, instances are found of altars

erected, and sacrifice offered at different places in the land. Gideon (Judg. vi. 24) and Manoah (xiii. 19) erect altars at the places where God appears to them; as did the patriarchs before them (Gen. xii. 7, 8; xiii. 18; xxvi. 25; xxxiii. 20; xxxv. 7; xlvi. 1). Although the Tent of meeting had been set up in Shiloh (Josh. xviii. 1), Joshua gathered the tribes together at Shechem, where he sets up a great stone by, or, 'in' (see R.V. marg.) 'the sanctuary of the LORD' (Josh. xxiv. 1, 25, 26)[1]. The ministrations of the Levite Jonathan at Dan (Judg. xviii. 30, 31), carried on during the time that the ark was at Shiloh, will be noticed later on (see p. 158). Samuel built an altar unto the Lord at Ramah (1 Sam. vii. 17), where Saul meets Samuel as he was going up to the high place to bless the sacrifice (ix. 13, 14). Samuel orders Saul to go down to Gilgal, and promises to come and offer burnt offerings and peace offerings there (x. 8, and cp. xi. 15, xiii. 9). Saul also built altars unto the Lord (in xiv. 35, mention is made of 'the *first* altar that he built'). Sacrifice is offered at Bethlehem by Samuel, and there is also a yearly sacrifice there (1 Sam. xvi. 2, 5, and cp. xx. 6, 29). David's sacrifices, on bringing the ark of the Lord into the city of David (2 Sam. vi. 13), and at the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite (xxiv. 18—25), may also be mentioned. After the disruption of the kingdom, the people assemble for worship at Gilgal, Beersheba, and other places of both kingdoms (Amos iv. 4; v. 5; Hos. iv. 15). Elijah complains that the people have thrown down the altars of the Lord (1 Kings xix. 10), and at Carmel he repaired the altar of the Lord that was thrown down (1 Kings xviii. 30). The earlier prophets object, not to these places of assembly as such, but to the spirit in which worship is offered there, and to the false estimate formed by the people of its efficacy. The Lord desires 'the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings' (Hos. vi. 6). The existence of divers places for assembly and sacrifice is not limited to the northern kingdom; from the time of Solomon onwards the historian records that

[1] The LXX. read Shiloh in xxiv. 1, 25; in ver. 25 they add 'before the tent of the God of Israel.'

the people in Judah continued to sacrifice in the high places (1 Kings iii. 2; xiv. 23; xv. 14; xxii. 43).

(ii) *The reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah.* Hezekiah is the first king of whom it is said that 'he removed the high places...'; Rabshakeh refers to this removal in his speech at Jerusalem (2 Kings xviii. 4, 22), and his words seem to imply that discontent had been aroused by the action of the king. No details are given, so that it must remain matter of conjecture under what impulse the king undertook this reform; but whatever purification of worship may have then been effected was wiped out in blood during the reign of Manasseh.

In the eighteenth year of king Josiah 'the book of the law' was found in the house of the Lord (2 Kings xxii. 8). The words of this book made a deep impression on the king, and he with the people made a covenant to observe 'the words of this covenant that were written in this book' (2 Kings xxiii. 3).

The king commanded the destruction of vessels used in idolatrous worship which were found in the temple, brought out the Asherah that was in the house of the Lord, burnt it, and scattered the ashes on the graves of the common people. There were certain idolatrous priests called *Chemarim* that had been appointed by the kings of Judah to burn incense in the high places in the cities of Judah. These the king put down, but the priests that had ministered at the high places, where sacrifice had been offered in the reigns even of the best kings of Judah (1 Kings xiv. 23; xv. 14; xxii. 43; 2 Kings xii. 3; xiv. 4; xv. 4, 35), he brought out of the cities of Judah, and suppressed the high places where they had hitherto officiated (2 Kings xxiii. 4—8). These and other reforms were introduced on the authority of the law book which Hilkiah had found in the house of the Lord (xxiii. 24).

What was the book of the law, which produced such remarkable results? Generally, when reference to the law is made in the books of Kings, the Deuteronomic version of the law is implied (1 Kings ii. 3; viii. 9, 56; 2 Kings xiv. 6; xxi. 7). The

probability that Deuteronomy is referred to also in 2 Kings xxii., xxiii. is strengthened by the following considerations:

(*a*) One form of idolatry, the worship of the 'host of heaven,' is mentioned in 2 Kings xxiii. 4, 5, 12. Manasseh appears to have introduced it into Judah, for 'he built altars for all the host of heaven in the two courts of the house of the LORD' (2 Kings xxi. 3, 5). It is forbidden in Deut. iv. 19 and xvii. 3, and only there in the Pentateuch.

(*b*) Those 'that had familiar spirits, and the wizards' (2 Kings xxiii. 24) were put away in accordance with the demands of the book. The various forms of witchcraft and magic are enumerated in Deut. xviii. 9—14, and the words employed there are found in 2 Kings xxi. and xxiii. Manasseh 'made his son to pass through the fire, and practised augury, and used enchantments, and dealt with them that had familiar spirits, and with wizards' (2 Kings xxi. 6). These practices are forbidden with special emphasis in Deut. xvii. 2—5 and xviii. 9—14.

(*c*) King Josiah was alarmed at the threatenings contained in the book (2 Kings xxii. 13). Passages such as Lev. xxvi. or Deut. xxviii. would produce this effect; but the allusion to the covenant seems to suggest the latter.

(*d*) The book found in the house of the Lord is called the book of the covenant (2 Kings xxiii. 1, 21) and the king makes a covenant 'to perform the words of this *covenant* that were written in this book' (xxiii. 3). The style of the whole verse is Deuteronomic, and, as has been shewn already (see p. 113), the legislation in Deuteronomy is described as the *covenant* made in the land of Moab.

Although other parts of the Pentateuch contain warnings against idolatry and witchcraft, which might have served as a basis for the Josianic reform, the special forms of idolatry and witchcraft in (*a*) and (*b*) point very distinctly to Deuteronomy.

But there is one item in the list of reforms carried out by Josiah which does not occupy a very prominent place in the account of 2 Kings xxii., xxiii., yet, in consequence of its effect

on the subsequent development of worship, may be considered as the most important of the steps then taken to suppress idolatry—the abolition of the worship at the high places.

The opposition to these high places had probably been growing for some time. Amos and later prophets had denounced the worship at popular shrines, such as Gilgal and Beersheba, but even under the best kings before Hezekiah it had not been put down. The invasion of Sennacherib[1] had destroyed or rendered desolate many of these high places, and at those that were set up again under Manasseh the worship was probably more idolatrous than before. On the accession of Josiah those who sorrowed for backsliding Judah hoped for better things; but the experience of the past had convinced the advocates of reform, that so long as sacrifice and worship were permitted at the various high places scattered throughout the land, so long would corruption continue, and idolatrous practices (probably remnants of Canaanite superstition as well as newer cults) could not be effectively restrained. The diminished area of the kingdom, now that Israel had been carried away captive, rendered a concentration of worship at Jerusalem possible. Accordingly the reformers in Josiah's reign advocated the total suppression of worship at the high places.

The manner in which this limitation of worship to the one sanctuary is introduced deserves notice. Two injunctions are placed in the forefront of the Deuteronomic legislation: to uproot idolatry, and to bring sacrifice and oblation to the one place which the Lord should choose. This combination of

[1] The campaign of Sennacherib, so briefly noticed in 2 Kings xviii. 13—16, brought ruin to Judah. According to the monuments, 46 strong cities, and innumerable small towns were taken, and more than 200,000 people carried away. The high places adjacent to these towns and cities were, no doubt, plundered wherever there was material to tempt the invader, but, whether destroyed or not, they were rendered destitute of worshippers. See Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O.T.*, p. 293, Eng. trans. Vol. 1. p. 286, Sayce, *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, p. 431, and Driver, *Isaiah*, pp. 66—69, 73—75.

precepts exactly illustrates the aim of the reformers in Josiah's reign. They denounced the idolatry that was prevalent, and proposed the abolition of the high places as the most effective means of suppressing it. The situation as depicted in 2 Kings xxii., xxiii. seems to have coloured the account in Deuteronomy. 'The *places* wherein the nations...*served* their gods' (Deut. xii. 2), as well as the altars, pillars, and Asherim[1] (groves A.V.) were to be destroyed (cp. Exod. xxiii. 24; xxxiv. 13). Although the places are not called 'high places' (*Bāmōth*), the description of them as 'upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree' (Deut. xii. 2) is that given of the idolatry practised in the time of the monarchy (1 Kings xiv. 23; xvi. 4; xvii. 10; note especially Jer. ii. 20; iii. 6, 13; xvii. 2, 10; also Ezek. vi. 13; and cp. 'even their sons and their daughters do they burn in the fire to their gods' Deut. xii. 31, with 2 Kings xxi. 6; xxiii. 10).

The particular cases specified in Deut. xiii.—if a prophet (xiii. 1—5), or a near relation or friend (xiii. 6—11) entice others to go and serve other gods, or a city (xiii. 12—18) has fallen away to idolatry—indicate a real danger then existing. These details are not found in the other codes; they imply the prevalence of idolatry, with its votaries active in drawing aside the people after them. And in the midst of all these warnings is set (xii. 5—28) the law of the one sanctuary, coupled with the command to destroy all places of idolatry (xii. 4, 5).

The intensity of feeling shewn in the *setting* of this law, and the earnest tone of the entreaty which accompanies its enunciation, indicate that a real conflict is pending, and that men are then and there contending with their brethren for a purer form of worship. The situation here depicted corresponds exactly with that of the reformers in Josiah's reign, who attempted to stamp out idolatry by enforcing the law of the one sanctuary.

The words of Deut. xii. 8, 'Ye shall not do after all the things which we do here this day, every man whatsoever is right in his

[1] See the commentaries on Exodus and Deuteronomy for explanations of these terms.

own eyes,' also point towards the same conclusion. The contrast in Deut. xii. is between a man doing 'whatsoever is right in his own eyes,' and observing the law of the one sanctuary. To the careful reader of xii. 8—13 it will be clear that doing 'whatsoever is right in his own eyes' and offering 'burnt offerings in every place that thou seest' are equivalents. But the people in the land of Moab are not called upon to observe the law of the one sanctuary; the obligation to such observance is not laid on them, but on their descendants when they 'dwell in safety,' i.e. in the reign of Solomon (cf. p. 47). The contrast in Deut. xii. as addressed to the people in the land of Moab, conveys no instruction as to their own conduct, either before or immediately after passing over Jordan. Such instruction might naturally be expected to follow the prohibition of Deut. xii. 8. (Cp. 'cease to do evil: learn to do well' in Isai. i. 16, 17.) But the contrast in Deut. xii. acquires a *real* force when it is addressed to the heirs both of Israel in Moab, and of Israel under Solomon; the commands laid on both generations are equally binding for those that come after, and the choice between frequenting the one sanctuary, and 'doing that which is right in their own eyes' is offered to the *same* persons. This twelfth chapter of Deuteronomy, when considered as a retrospect of the past, is in effect a solemn appeal to those who are offering 'burnt offerings in every [high] place': let them cease doing 'every man whatsoever is right in his own eyes' and repair to 'the place which the LORD hath chosen to put his name there.' Such an appeal was made by the reformers in the reign of Josiah, who wished to concentrate the worship of the people at Jerusalem.

There are, moreover, other passages in Deuteronomy which imply a post-Mosaic date. Those which refer to prophecy have already been noticed on p. 49. It is there pointed out, that the representation of prophecy as a fully developed institution is suitable only to a late period of the history.

Another indication of a similar kind is found in the reference to the king (Deut. xvii. 16, 17). 'It is difficult not to think that

there is in these words a covert reference to the policy inaugurated by Solomon' (Driver, *Deut. I.C.C.* p. 211, and cp. 1 Kings iv. 26, x. 26, 28, 29 with Deut. xvii. 16; also *v.* 17 with 1 Kings xi. 3—8, x. 14—25, 27).

A long occupation of the land is implied in the prohibition, 'Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which *they of old time* have set in thine inheritance' (Deut. xix. 14).

These passages are difficult to explain on the supposition that Deuteronomy was written before the conquest of the land; but they receive at once a natural interpretation, if the book be assigned to a much later date. They may therefore be adduced as corroborating other evidence which associates the Deuteronomic legislation with the prophets and reformers of the seventh century B.C. Their appeal to the people is based on the covenant made with their fathers when they came out of Egypt (cf. Jer. xi. 1—10); they bring forward a revised form of the existing tradition, and point to Moses as setting a precedent for their action. They call on the people to put away their abominations, and seek the Lord their God in Jerusalem.

Some modifications of existing practice were necessary, if worship and sacrifice were to be transferred to the central sanctuary. The law of Exod. xxii. 30 requires the firstborn to be given to the Lord on the eighth day. This rule was practicable when offerings could be brought to some place of worship in the neighbourhood, but became impracticable when there was only one place where such offerings were permitted. The time prescribed is therefore prolonged, and according to Deut. xv. 20 firstlings are to be sacrificed 'year by year in the place which the LORD shall choose.' But the proviso that no work shall be done with the bullock, and that the sheep must not be shorn shews that, as in the former legislation, firstlings are the Lord's from the time of their birth.

Other relaxations of existing custom when 'the place which the LORD thy God shall choose to put his name there be too far from thee' (Deut. xii. 21) are allowed. The reason for the permis-

sion granted in this verse to 'kill of thy herd and of thy flock,' requires explanation. In Eastern countries flesh is not eaten so frequently as in the West. In ancient times, as in the present day among the nomad Arabs, the meat eaten was for the most part that of animals taken in hunting. Domestic animals, 'of the herd and of the flock,' were only slaughtered on some special occasion (cp. Nathan's parable in 2 Sam. xii.), and such slaughter was in early times considered as sacrificial; the fat and the blood were offered on an altar (cp. 1 Sam. xiv. 31—34, where the great stone serves as an altar). This custom was easy of observance when altars were numerous, and in all parts of the land; but when sacrifice was limited to one sanctuary, those at a distance from it would not be able to kill domestic [i.e. sacrificial] animals for food. Hence slaughter for food became distinguished from slaughter for sacrifice; the former was permitted anywhere, the latter restricted to the one sanctuary. When slaughtered for food, the flesh of domestic animals was to be treated as flesh taken in hunting, 'as the gazelle [roebuck A.V.] and as the hart.' For such food, there was no restriction with reference to ritual purity ('the clean and the unclean shall eat thereof alike'), but only with reference to the blood; that was to be poured out upon the earth like water. (See Deut. xii. 15, 16, 20—24, Driver, *Deuteronomy I.C.C.*, p. 145, and *OTJC*[2], p. 249.)

Another modification of the existing rule with respect to the tithe was also necessary. There was no difficulty in presenting tithe of every kind at a local sanctuary; but when it could be brought only 'to the place which the LORD shall choose,' the regulation became impracticable. Permission was therefore granted to turn the tithe into money, which might be expended in a sacred feast at the central sanctuary (see Deut. xiv. 22—27, and consult the notes on this passage, and also on xii. 15, 16, 20—24 in the commentary on Deuteronomy).

The facts to which attention has been drawn in the preceding paragraphs may be summed up as follows:

Up to the time of Josiah, sacrifice was offered at places

other than the central sanctuary; and Josiah abolished this form of worship.

The Deuteronomic legislation lays stress on reforms which Josiah carried out; especially the overthrow of idolatry, and the concentration of worship at Jerusalem.

Some of the corrupt usages forbidden in Deuteronomy (e.g. the worship of the 'host of heaven') were not introduced into Judah (so far as is known) until the seventh century B.C.

One form of idolatrous worship described in 2 Kings xxi. 5, xxiii. 4, 5 is denounced only in Deuteronomy.

The language of Deuteronomy in referring to idolatry and magical arts accords with that found in 2 Kings xxi.—xxiii.

The similarity of style between Deuteronomy and Jeremiah has been noted by all commentators on those books.

The Deuteronomic legislation introduces modifications of existing usage which are necessary when sacrifice and offerings are limited to a central sanctuary.

The inference drawn from these facts is: *parts at least of the book of Deuteronomy were composed when its precepts became necessary; either in or shortly before the reign of Josiah.*

Further evidence tending to corroborate this conclusion has been noticed in preceding pages: e.g. the prophetic style and character of the book (p. 73); the land described as already occupied for a long time (p. 140); the conclusions drawn from comparing the laws about slavery (pp. 125, 128); the sequence of JE, D, P, already pointed out as probable (pp. 110, 127), and further illustrated in the following sections (p. 154). But for a fuller investigation the reader must be referred to the Introduction to the book, and the notes upon particular passages in it, in the commentary on Deuteronomy.

Note on Deuteronomy and the Josianic reform.

Reasons for assigning Deuteronomy to the seventh century B.C., and connecting its promulgation with the reforms carried out in the reign of Josiah have been given in the preceding section. It has also been shewn that many of the laws in

Deuteronomy are similar to those in the Covenant code, and that some of the modifications introduced in the Deuteronomic code are such as would be necessary, if worship were restricted to a central sanctuary. Other modifications are most easily explained on the supposition that the laws of the Covenant code represent an earlier stage of legislation, which in consequence of development in social conditions, and other changes, was no longer suitable.

If the Covenant code existed as a *separate* document, regarded as ancient, and embodying Mosaic precepts, it is not difficult to understand how the Deuteronomic edition of this code came to be put forward on the authority of Moses. If the Covenant code had already been *combined* with the history of the deliverance from Egypt, and the journey to Canaan, it would probably occupy a position similar to that in which Deuteronomy is placed in the present Pentateuch[1].

The writer of Deuteronomy would be only following the tradition handed down to him, if he described his version of that ancient code as the last bequest of the great lawgiver to Israel.

According to the traditional view, Deuteronomy is a *repetition* of laws already promulgated at Sinai and elsewhere, issued just before entering the promised land. But the statements of the book itself do not support this view. It has been pointed out (p. 114) that Deuteronomy refers to a covenant at Horeb consisting of the *Decalogue only*, and sets forth the second covenant in the land of Moab as based *not* on a *repetition* of a law already given, but on a law set forth by Moses *for the first time* in the land of Moab, though it had been communicated to him at Horeb.

Much stress has been laid on the words 'the book of the law' (2 Kings xxii. 8), and the inference has been drawn that the

[1] It has already been pointed out (p. 114) that the code of the Covenant was not in its present position when Deuteronomy was written.

book found by Hilkiah was a well known and ancient book of law presumably Mosaic. But the use of the definite article here cannot be adduced as proving this. In accordance with the rules of Hebrew syntax 'a book of law' or *torah* (in the sense of prophetic or priestly teaching) is a perfectly legitimate translation (see the remarks at the end of this note). Shaphan's words to Josiah 'Hilkiah the priest hath delivered me a book' seem to support such a translation. There is nothing in the narrative contained in the book of Kings which in any way implies that the book found in the house of the Lord was attributed to Moses. Comparison with the later parallel account in 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14, xxxv. 6, 12 is very instructive. The view of the later writer undoubtedly is, that a book of law ascribed to Moses was read on that occasion. But there is nothing in the older account which definitely asserts this. It may further be noted that the word 'book' conveys to most readers the idea of a volume[1] of some size. But the Hebrew word for book (*sēpher*, 'document,' or 'scroll') is applied to a 'bill,' i.e. deed, of divorcement (Deut. xxiv. 1, 3), to a deed (evidence A.V.) of conveyance (Jer. xxxii. 9—16), to Jezebel's 'letter' to the elders of Naboth's city, and other letters (1 Kings xxi. 9; 2 Kings v. 5). In all these passages the Heb. word *sēpher* denotes a document written on a single scroll or skin. The 'book' delivered by Hilkiah to Shaphan *might* have been of a similar character; the fact that the book was read three times at least in one day shews that it was of moderate length.

The words of the narrative do not give exact information about the extent or character of the document which made so profound an impression on king and people; and any suggestion as to its contents must be conjectural. Some would say that Deut. v.—xxvi. and xxviii., others that Deut. xii.—xxvi. and xxviii. formed the book which was found in the temple and read to Josiah. But possibly a still shorter selection was read before

[1] A 'book' in the modern sense of the word, composed of many pages of paper stitched or bound together, was quite unknown in O.T. times.

the king, such as Deut. vi. 4, 5, 14, 15; xii. 2—7; xvi. 1, 2, 16, 21, 22; xviii. 9—15, 19; xxviii. 1—6, 14—21[1]. It would be sufficient to move him to take in hand the work of reformation. The fact which seems assured is that the contents of the book found in the house of the Lord in the eighteenth year of Josiah have been preserved in the present book of Deuteronomy.

If the demands of the reformers were made in the name of Moses, as they at present stand in the book of Deuteronomy, those who made this claim would feel themselves justified; for they were but issuing with prophetic exhortation an older law which they regarded as in substance Mosaic, a law which perhaps had already been ascribed to the great lawgiver. It is however possible that the words written on 'the scroll' were delivered in the same manner as other prophetic *Torah*;—'in the name of the LORD.' If the shorter selection suggested above was read, this seems very probable. The writer who has preserved for us Deuteronomy in its present form may have supplied the Mosaic environment of the book. By him, as well as by the people in Josiah's time, its precepts were recognized as words of the Lord to His people whom He had brought out of Egypt, and meet to be associated with earlier words that were attributed to Moses.

The use of the definite article in Hebrew referred to above is explained in Davidson's *Hebrew Syntax* § 21 *e*, and in Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Heb. Gramm.* § 126. 4, *q—t* p. 414, 28th ed. (pp. 227 f. English translation).

A person or thing not previously mentioned, is in the mind of the writer regarded as definite, being the particular person or thing to which he refers. In such a case English (and other modern languages) would generally use the indefinite article.

Judg. iv. 19 and she (Jael) opened *a* bottle of milk. Heb. *the* bottle.

[1] Prof. Cheyne in *Jeremiah, his Life and Times*, p. 50, proposes a selection of passages almost identical with these.

Judg. iv. 21 Then Jael Heber's wife took *a* tent-pin (nail of the tent A.V.). Heb. *the* tent-pin.

vi. 38 he (Gideon)...wringed the dew out of the fleece, *a* bowlful of water. Heb. *the* bowlful.

These are instances of two words in a genitive combination; an instance of a single word is

2 Sam. xvii. 17 and *a* maidservant (wench A.V.) used to go and tell them. Heb. *the* maidservant.

other exx.: Gen. ix. 23; Exod. xvii. 14, xxi. 20; Nu. xi. 27, xxii. 27; Dt. xv. 17, xxii. 17; Josh. ii. 15, viii. 29; Judg. iv. 18, viii. 25; 1 Sam. ix. 9, x. 25, xxi. 10; Jer. xxxii. 10, xxxvi. 23 (two words in a genitive combination). The common phrase וַיְהִי הַיּוֹם (lit. 'and the day was'), used of a day not specified in what precedes, and corresponding to our expression, 'It fell on a day,' is an additional illustration of this method of Hebrew thought. As soon as the day is brought into the view of the narrator, it becomes defined. This idiomatic usage is described by Davidson as 'peculiar,' by Ges.-Kautzsch as 'eigentümlich,' not without reason.

β. THE TIMES OF SACRIFICE.

(1) *Comparison of the codes with one another.*

(i) The code of JE enjoins that all males must appear before the Lord three times in the year (Exod. xxiii. 14—17 and xxxiv. 18, 22, 23)[1]. The injunctions in the two chapters are almost verbally identical.

(ii) A more detailed account of the three pilgrimage feasts, at which all males must appear before the Lord, is found in Deut. xvi. 1—17. In addition, Deuteronomy prescribes certain

[1] A comparison of these passages shews clearly the composite character of JE. It is most unlikely that both passages were contributed by the *same* writer. It seems almost certain that one belongs to the source J, the other to E. The preservation of both versions is due to a compiler.

ceremonies to be observed on two occasions; an annual observance in Deut. xxvi. 1—11; and a triennial observance in *vv.* 12—15. A special formula of a liturgical character is ordered to be said on each occasion.

(iii) The additions of P are numerous:

(*a*) Two ceremonies in connexion with the harvest.—The '*Omer*' or sheaf of firstfruits to be waved 'on the morrow after the sabbath' in connexion with *Mazzoth* (the feast of unleavened bread or cakes); and the two 'wave loaves,' when the harvest was completed, seven weeks later in connexion with the feast of weeks (Lev. xxiii. 9—21). These ceremonies are enjoined in the 'Holiness code' (H), which has been incorporated with P.

(*b*) A blowing of silver trumpets in the set feasts, and on the first day of every month (Num. x. 10); on the first day of the seventh month (New Year's Day), 'a memorial of blowing of trumpets' of a different kind, properly 'horns' (Lev. xxiii. 24). Special sacrifices in addition to the daily sacrifice are prescribed for these occasions, and for the day of Atonement in Num. xxviii. and xxix.

(*c*) The day of Atonement on the 10th day of the seventh month (Lev. xxiii. 27—32, and ch. xvi.).

(*d*) The rules for the three pilgrimage feasts of JE and D are more elaborate; the first day and seventh day of unleavened bread are each appointed as 'a holy convocation,' and also the first and eighth of the feast of tabernacles. The time at which each feast is to be observed is fixed by the day of the month. So long as the observance was local, and for the family, a general indication of time was sufficient; when the ceremony took place at the central sanctuary, and became national, it was necessary to fix the day more exactly.

This full list of feasts (among which a fast, the day of Atonement, is included) compared with that of JE suggests the question, Were these two festal lists issued within the same year[1]? The

[1] The period of the sojourn at Sinai is less than a year.

difficulty of giving an answer is increased, when the legislation of Deuteronomy is taken into account. If that legislation be a recapitulation of laws already given, why are only the three pilgrimage feasts of JE mentioned? The omission of all reference to the Day of Atonement has already been commented upon (p. 120).

γ. THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF SACRIFICES AND THEIR NAMES.

(1) *Comparison of the codes with one another.*

(i) *The laws of JE.* Burnt offerings and peace offerings are enjoined in Exod. xx. 24, and mentioned in xxiv. 5; but the sacrifices to be brought on the three occasions when all males were to appear before the Lord are not specified by name in JE, nor is the material prescribed; firstlings of oxen and sheep are claimed as the Lord's in Exod. xxii. 30, xxxiv. 19, 20. Leaven must not be offered with sacrifice; neither must the fat be left till the morning (Exod. xxiii. 18, xxxiv. 25 where the name Passover occurs).

(ii) *The laws in Deuteronomy.* A list of offerings to be brought is found in Deut. xii. 6, 11, 17, 18. The kind of sacrifice is indicated as one of which the worshipper partakes ('thou shalt eat it before the LORD thy God,' Deut. xii. 18; xv. 20). Burnt offerings and sacrifices are specified in xii. 6; and the Passover sacrifice is to be brought from the flock or the herd (xvi. 2)[1].

(iii) *The laws in the Priestly Code.* A full description of the different kinds of sacrifice, and of the ritual prescribed for each kind, is found in Lev. i.—vii. The sacrifices are divided into

[1] The ceremony described in Deut. xxi. 1—9 may be here noticed. As an animal is slaughtered, the action is sacrificial in character, and the idea of atonement by shedding of blood is prominent; but it cannot be classed among the known varieties of Jewish sacrifice, and is probably an ancient custom, the memory of which has been preserved only in this passage. See the commentary on Deuteronomy, and *OTJC*[2], p. 373.

five classes: (1) Burnt offering, (2) Meal [Meat[1] A.V.] offering, (3) Peace offering, (4) Sin offering, (5) Guilt [Trespass A.V.] offering.

The calendar of times and seasons to be observed throughout the year in Lev. xxiii. (see p. 147) prescribes the material of the sacrifice on two occasions (*vv.* 12, 13, 18, 19); for the rest, it ordains 'an offering made by fire unto the Lord' (*vv.* 8, 25, 27, 36). Of what those offerings should consist is stated in Num. xxviii., xxix. Exodus xxix., in prescribing the sacrifices and ceremonies to be observed in consecrating the priests, and Lev. viii., ix., in recording the manner of their inauguration, supply details as to the kind and material of sacrifice, and the manner in which they should be brought. The law of the daily offering is given in Exod. xxix. 38—42. Further sacrifices are prescribed for special occasions in Leviticus and Numbers[2], e.g. for the leper and the Nazirite.

The above description is sufficient to shew that the answers to the questions 'When' and 'What' are mainly to be found in P, and that as regards fulness of detail the three codes stand in the order JE, D, P.

(2) *The codes compared with the history.*

In the preceding section the answers to the question 'When?' supplied by the codes, were considered; but the comparison of the codes with the history was omitted. This comparison was deferred in order to avoid repetition. The answers to the questions 'When?' and 'What?' supplied by the history may be considered together.

The name most commonly employed to denote sacrifice is *zebhah*; the word used in the account of the first recorded

[1] 'Meat' in old English was not (as now) restricted to animal food, hence its use in A.V. But, 'in consequence of the change which has taken place in the English language, the term "meat offering" has become inappropriate to describe an offering of which flesh was no part' (from the preface of the Revisers of the O. T.).

[2] Consult these books, and the commentaries upon them, for further information.

sacrifice (Gen. iv. 3—5) is *minḥah*, which is used generally of a present (Gen. xxxii. 14 ff., xliii. 11 ff.), or of the evening sacrifice (1 Kings xviii. 29; 2 Kings xvi. 15). The two expressions are used together as a general description of sacrifices (1 Sam. ii. 29; iii. 14). Sacrifices are further distinguished as *'ōlah*, 'Burnt offering,' in which the sacrifice was wholly burnt; and *sh'lāmim*, 'Peace offerings,' of which a portion was eaten by the worshipper. These three words are employed in Lev. i.—iii.: *'ōlah* to designate the Burnt offering, the ritual of which is prescribed in ch. i.; *minḥah* is applied to the Meal [Meat A.V.] offering, the different kinds of which are described in ch. ii.; and the rules for Peace offerings (*sh'lāmim*) are given in ch. iii. Two additional offerings are specified in Lev. iv.—vi. 8 which are not found in the earlier codes; the *ḥaṭṭāth* 'Sin offering,' and the *'āshām*, 'Guilt' or 'Trespass offering.' The first mention of these kinds of sacrifice outside the Priestly code[1] is in the prophet Ezekiel (xl. 39; xlii. 13; xliv. 29; xlv. 17 &c.).

In the history, the sacrifices mentioned are for the most part

[1] The word *'āshām* occurs in the sense of guilt (Gen. xxvi. 10) and the adjective 'guilty' (Gen. xlii. 21). The Philistines send an *'āshām* of golden mice and tumours along with the ark (1 Sam. vi. 3). In 2 Kings xii. 17 the reference is to fines which were paid in cases of trespass or offence (trespass money and sin money A.V.). The Levitical legislation imposed in such cases a sacrifice in addition. Another passage in which, according to the opinion of some, reference is made to the Sin offering is Hos. iv. 8 'They feed on the sin of my people, and set their heart on their iniquity.' But the parallelism requires that 'sin' in the first clause must convey an idea similar to that of 'iniquity' in the second. The priests are condemned for making profit out of the people, and compounding (in some way not specified, probably by receiving payment in money or gifts) for their misdeeds. If the text be taken to mean 'they eat the Sin offering of my people' not only is the parallelism destroyed, but the assertion is without point, for eating the Sin offering was by the law allowed to the priests. The passage would then affirm that the priests obeyed the law; whereas the context insists on their evil doings.

those brought by individuals[1]. Details of the ritual observed are seldom given, but on some occasions, as in the case of Saul (1 Sam. xiv. 33—35), the ceremonial seems to have been of a simple character.

The sacrifice offered by Elkanah affords an instance of an offering brought at a prescribed time. It was probably the feast of ingathering, one of the three occasions on which all males were to appear before the Lord. It appears that though the injunction applied only to men, it was customary for the wife and household to accompany the head of the family. But the pilgrimage is described as a *yearly* one (1 Sam. i. 3, 7, 21; ii. 19, 'the yearly sacrifice'), and the whole account implies that Elkanah, in thus presenting himself *once* a year before the Lord in Shiloh, is fulfilling the obligation imposed upon him by the existing law. Either the injunction of Exod. xxiii. 17 and xxxiv. 23 was not known to him, or on the two other occasions he appeared before the Lord at a local sanctuary[2].

[1] With the limitation of worship to the one sanctuary, the public sacrifices on behalf of the community would become more prominent, while those of private individuals would occupy a subordinate position. The history as contained in Judges—Kings is practically a record of worship before this limitation, i.e. before the reign of Josiah. There was no time for Josiah's reform to bear fruit before the exile, and the brief records of post-exilic times do not contain much information with reference to sacrifice. The effect of the concentration of worship at Jerusalem is shewn in Jewish history outside the O. T. canon.

[2] The injunction to appear three times a year before the Lord was practicable, only if the journey involved was short. As long as the local sanctuaries remained, this was the case; and as the injunction of JE is repeated in Deuteronomy, it would seem that the reformers in Josiah's time regarded the area of Judah as sufficiently limited to allow its inhabitants to visit Jerusalem three times a year[1]. There is no evidence to shew whether the law was observed in the short interval between Josiah's reform and the fall of the Kingdom, or by the Jewish community after

[1] Here is further indirect evidence as to the *real* date of Deuteronomy. Would a law imposing three visits in the year to Jerusalem be practicable for the children of Israel when they occupied their whole territory? Was it then enacted *before* they entered the land, to be binding from the time of Solomon onwards?

The dedication of the Temple in Solomon's reign is described at length in 1 Kings viii. Special mention is made of the great number of sacrifices then offered; the brazen altar was too little to receive them (*v.* 64). On such an occasion the full ritual of the law would certainly be observed. According to P, when the service of the tabernacle was inaugurated, the first sacrifice brought by Moses was a bullock for a Sin offering (Lev. viii. 14). When Aaron enters upon his office, the first offering brought was the calf of the Sin offering for himself (ix. 8); and the first offering brought on behalf of the people was the goat of the Sin offering (ix. 15). But in 1 Kings viii. among the numerous sacrifices offered, the Sin offering finds no place. If this account of the inaugural services in the Temple is compared with the account of the inaugural services in the Tabernacle (Lev. viii., ix.), it is evident that the ritual standards in the two narratives are different.

The feast kept at the dedication of the Temple was the feast of the seventh month, the Feast of Tabernacles. According to the law in Deuteronomy the feast was to be kept for seven days (Deut. xvi. 13). According to Lev. xxiii. 33—36 an eighth day was to be kept, besides the seven days of the feast. No mention is made of this eighth day in 1 Kings viii.; but the parallel (and later) account in 2 Chron. vii. 9 records that on the eighth day was a 'solemn assembly' held (the same word as that used in Lev. xxiii. 36). The account in 1 Kings viii. states that on the eighth day the king sent the people away; i.e. on the day when according to 2 Chron. vii. the people were keeping a solemn assembly. The writer of Chronicles adds: 'And on the three and twentieth day of the seventh month he sent the people away.' Here are

the Return. The area within which they were settled was at first probably more limited than that of the old kingdom of Judah. But when in later times Galilee was inhabited by Jews, the observance of the three pilgrimage feasts would become impracticable for such as resided so far north. In N. T. times a yearly attendance seems to have been customary; but more frequent visits were no doubt made by pious Jews in Jerusalem and the neighbourhood.

two different accounts of the manner in which the feast was kept: (1) that in 1 Kings viii., where, according to the Deuteronomic rule, the feast was kept for seven days (from the fifteenth to the twenty-first inclusive) and the people were dismissed on the eighth day (the twenty-second); (2) that in 2 Chron. vii. 9, where, according to the law of Leviticus, the feast was kept seven days, with a solemn assembly on the eighth day, and the people were dismissed on the three and twentieth day. The inference seems warranted, that the appointment of the eighth day of tabernacles was made after the author of Kings had composed his narrative. The later writer assumes that the feast was kept according to the ritual of his own day. That ritual was *not* the ritual of the Temple in the time of the kingdom.

Attention has been drawn to (1) the frequency of pilgrimage, (2) the existence of the Sin-offering, (3) the duration of the Feast of Tabernacles: it appears that in the time of Samuel the practice falls short of the requirements even of JE; that in the time of Solomon, according to the writer of Kings, the law of Deuteronomy is recognized; and that, according to the writer of Chronicles, the existence of the law in P is assumed. This points to a development of Jewish law, the stages of which are represented by JE, D, and P.

In order to answer the fourth question 'Who?' (see p. 130) it will be necessary to examine

δ. The Laws relating to Priests.

The duties assigned to the whole tribe of Levi, as well as the provision made for their maintenance, will be considered.

(1) *Comparison of the codes with one another.*

(i) The Covenant code contains no regulations about priests. The law about altars (Exod. xx. 24—26) is addressed to the children of Israel generally, and makes no mention of persons who were specially appointed to offer sacrifice upon them.

(ii) The Deuteronomic code mentions the tribe of Levi as

specially set apart for the service of the Lord, but draws no distinction between different members of the tribe.

(iii) The Priestly code allows only those who are of the seed of Aaron to officiate as priests. One family of the tribe of Levi is separated from the rest. The Levites (i.e. the rest of the tribe who do not belong to the family of Aaron[1]) perform various menial duties; they carry the tabernacle and its furniture (Num. iii., iv.), minister to the priests (Num. iii. 6; xviii. 2), and 'stand before (i.e. wait on) the congregation' (Num. xvi. 9).

The difference between the language of Deuteronomy and that of the Priestly code will be apparent to any careful reader. He will ask, Is Deuteronomy acquainted with this sharp division of the tribe into priests and ministers, although he never refers to such a division? Is this a point on which a 'lay folks' book' might reasonably be silent? Before answering these questions, it is necessary to examine other passages in which reference is made to Levites. It will be found that in respect of the provision made for their support, and their general condition, the descriptions in Deuteronomy differ widely from those in the Priestly code.

The provision made for their support consists of (*a*) dwelling-place, and (*b*) sustenance or revenue.

(*a*) *Their place of abode.* According to P (Num. xxxv. 1—8), the tribe of Levi acquire the right to certain cities with their suburbs, which are to be set apart for them after the conquest (Josh. xxi.). The priests and Levites dwell *in their own* cities.

[1] The word 'Levite' in D and P is used in two completely different senses. In D it denotes *any* member of the tribe, who, if he comes to the central sanctuary, has a right to officiate there as priest; in P (except occasionally, see p. 160 note 2) it denotes the inferior members of the tribe, who are servants to the priests and to the congregation, and perform the menial duties specified in the text. They are sharply distinguished from the 'priests,' and prohibited, under pain of death, from performing priestly duties. The distinction must be carefully borne in mind in reading the following discussion. A third sense in which 'Levite' is used will appear later (see p. 160 note 3).

But according to Deuteronomy, the Levite that *is within thy (your) gates* is commended with the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow to the charitable consideration of the people (xii. 12, 18; xiv. 27, 29). He is a *sojourner* (xviii. 6) in cities belonging *to others*, and not a resident by right in cities which are *his own possession* (Lev. xxv. 33, 34).

(*b*) *Their revenues.* P assigns all the tithe in Israel to the Levites (Num. xviii. 21, 24; where by Levite is meant those members of the tribe of Levi who do not belong to the family of Aaron), of which they are to give a tenth to Aaron (xviii. 26, 28). A *tithe* is levied from the herd or flock (Lev. xxvii. 32). But, according to Deuteronomy, all the tithe, and *firstlings* of the herd and flock are to be eaten before the Lord by the offerer with his household and the Levite (Deut. xiv. 22—27). Every third year, *all* the tithe is laid up at home for the benefit of the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless and the widow (xiv. 28, 29). Here the contrast between the two codes is startling. The tithe, which in Numbers is allotted to the Levites, is in Deuteronomy to be eaten before the Lord by those who are *not* Levites and the Levite is invited to share in the feast. Every third year the tithe is laid up at home, and distributed to the Levite and other needy persons. If both these laws come from the same lawgiver, then *two* tithes must have been demanded from the Israelite. This is the traditional Jewish interpretation; the Deuteronomic tithe is a *second* tithe, levied in addition to the Levitical tithe. But on what does this interpretation rest? Clearly not on the passages in Numbers and Deuteronomy which refer to tithe. The laws in both books refer to *one tithe only*. This can be proved, in the case of Deuteronomy, from xviii. 1—4; where the dues of 'the priests the Levites, all the tribe of Levi' are specified. They consist of portions from the sacrifices, first fruits, and 'the first of the fleece of thy sheep,' but no mention is made of tithe.

If, when Deuteronomy was written, a law of tithe was in existence, providing for priests and Levites as prescribed in

Num. xviii., it would surely be mentioned in the list of priestly dues in Deut. xviii. 3, 4, and also in the solemn profession in Deut. xxvi. 12—15. It is essentially a matter about which the layman must be informed, in order that he may fulfil his obligations.

That the law in Num. xviii. refers to one tithe only seems clear from ver. 21; 'unto the children of Levi, behold, I have given *all* the tithe in Israel.' The supposition that Deuteronomy refers to a *second* tithe not given to the Levites is excluded by the word *all*. According to Num. xviii. 21 *all* the tithe is given to the Levites; according to Deuteronomy *all* is *not* given to them.

In Deuteronomy, the Levites are not represented as being in possession of cities and fields, and receiving a regular income from tithe, but as scattered among the people with scanty means of subsistence, and needing the same treatment as the stranger, the fatherless and the widow. As one explanation of this acknowledged difference between the status of the Levites in the two codes of D and P, it has been suggested that the exhortations of Deuteronomy to take care of the Levites are especially appropriate to the time when they were issued, just before the entry into the promised land. The Levites would be in special need of assistance during the period of the conquest and early occupation of the land, before they had obtained possession of their cities, and so long as the tithe law was not in full operation. But this supposition that Deuteronomy has in view the transitional period before the complete acquisition of the land, is one which finds no support in the book. The laws are not meant to apply to this early period before the people have fully entered on their inheritance, but to the period when 'he giveth you rest from all your enemies round about so that ye dwell in safety' (Deut. xii. 10; cp. xxv. 19; xxvi. 1). The command to give the priests their dues is to be observed in perpetuity. 'For the Lord thy God hath chosen him out of all thy tribes, to stand to minister in the name of the Lord, him and his sons for ever' (xviii. 5). Cp. xix. 1; and 'even to the tenth generation'

(xxiii. 2, 3). The law of tithe, like other laws, is obligatory when the people are settled in the land; it is not meant to provide for a temporary depression in the status of the Levites; also it is clear that, if the children of Israel are able to bring the tithe 'to eat before the Lord' (xiv. 23), they would also be able to give it to the tribe of Levi, if the command to do so were in existence.

The law of Deut. xiv. 22—29, and that in Num. xviii. cannot be from the same hand: Jewish practice, in endeavouring to fulfil these commands, shews that they cannot be observed without levying *two* tithes, and the words both of Deut. and Num. (as has been shewn above) expressly exclude such an interpretation and practice. This marked difference between the two codes, and other differences which have been noted in the preceding paragraphs, raise the presumption that the silence of Deuteronomy about the division of the tribe into priests who offer sacrifice, and servants (Levites) who assist at such functions, points to a further difference between the legislation in Deuteronomy, and that in the Priestly code.

The differences between D and P in respect of (1) their use of the term 'Levite,' (2) the distinction between the priests the sons of Aaron and the rest of the tribe, (3) the provision for maintenance from the tithe, (4) the appointment of Levitical cities, and (5) the general condition of the 'Levite' (whether understood in the sense of Deuteronomy, or as in Num. xviii.) can be satisfactorily explained (as other differences have been explained p. 125), only by assuming an interval sufficient to allow of changed social conditions between the promulgation of the two codes.

(2) *Comparison of the codes with the history.*

In considering the place of worship, instances were given of sacrifices offered in places other than the central sanctuary (p. 134). Persons who were not priests offered them; and the same passages may serve to shew that in ancient Israel, sacrifice was not subject to limitation with respect to either person or

place. The record of sacrifices preserved in the history points to a continuous practice from the beginning: patriarch, judge, prophet and king, each bring their offering; according to one account (Exod. iii. 18; v. 1—3; viii. 25—28), Pharaoh is commanded to let the people go that they may hold a sacrifice to the Lord. It is assumed that ancient customs prevail; the practice seems to be simple and primitive, and the narrative contains no reference to a special ritual introduced on the authority of Moses.

The history of Micah is most instructive (Judg. xvii., xviii.). He, an Ephraimite, first consecrates his own son as priest. But a wandering Levite, Jonathan by name, a grandson of Moses, comes to the house of Micah as he journeyed, and Micah thinks himself fortunate in securing his services as priest. An exploring party of Danites passing by Micah's house ask counsel of God through the Levite. When the warriors of the tribe of Dan, 600 strong, shortly after make their expedition against Laish, they carry off Micah's ephod, teraphim, and images. The priest agrees to go with them. The Danites, in spite of Micah's protest, take with them the priest and the sacred images, and set them in a sanctuary at Dan, where they remain under the charge of the Levite Jonathan and his descendants all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh.

According to the letter of the narrative, this guardian of the sanctuary at Dan is a son of Gershom and a grandson of Moses. Gershom was born before the children of Israel left Egypt; his son Jonathan was probably born during the journeyings. He may have been a lad or young man at the passage of the Jordan; he must certainly have been a contemporary of Joshua, and would be numbered among the elders who outlived Joshua. He could not have known the regulations in Exod. xxviii., xxix., Num. xvi. 40, xviii. 1—7, under which the sons of Aaron only were permitted to officiate as priests, and the Levites were given to Aaron and his sons to do the service of the tabernacle. If he did know them, it would be necessary to assume a rebellion

analogous to that of Korah and his company in order to account for his conduct; but we are expressly told that during his generation 'Israel served the LORD' (Josh. xxiv. 31). It seems impossible to reconcile this story as it now stands with the existence of an exclusive Aaronite priesthood inaugurated by Moses[1].

If it be assumed that some steps of Jonathan's genealogy have been omitted, and that 'son' may be taken as 'descendant,' then Jonathan and the Danite raid might be assigned to a later generation which 'knew not the LORD' (Judg. ii. 10).

But whatever view may be held as to the *time* of Jonathan's ministrations, the story itself is of special interest, because it preserves an early tradition of *Levite* priests who traced their descent from *Moses*. While Eli and his sons were exercising their priestly functions at Shiloh, where the ark was kept, a descendant of Moses was priest to the tribe of the Danites, and guardian of Micah's graven image. The historian, who lived after the ark was removed from Shiloh, and after 'the captivity of the land' (Judg. xviii. 30, 31), records the existence of two sanctuaries, one at Shiloh and the other at Dan; he also makes mention of priests who were descendants of Moses. He draws

[1] To those who regarded the Aaronic priesthood as established at Sinai, Jonathan must have appeared as a wilful transgressor; it is not then surprising that later Jews wished to remove the name of this (in their judgement) rebellious Levite from the family of the great lawgiver. This they tried to do by inserting the letter 'N' in the name of Moses, and reading Manasseh instead. But their reverence for that which was written forbad them to add this letter to the traditional text; they wrote it *above* the line, thus leaving a witness to the original reading. The R.V. rightly rejects the additional letter, and reads 'Moses' instead of the 'Manasseh' of A.V. in Judg. xviii. 30. The Heb. text is מנשה, which may be explained to English readers thus: M^{N}SH are the English equivalents of the Heb. text (which originally had no vowels). MSH are the consonants of 'Moses' (Heb. *Mōsheh*): MNSH are the consonants of 'Manasseh' (Heb. *Mᵉnashsheh*). S is pronounced 'sh,' and is doubled in the Heb. form of Manasseh.

attention to the fact that the worship at the sanctuary in Dan, with its priest of Mosaic lineage, continued for a long period; without giving any intimation that such worship was exceptional or blameworthy[1]. It seems evident that he knew nothing of a law limiting the priesthood to the sons of Aaron.

These priestly descendants of Moses are *Levites*. This is a further point of interest preserved for us in this narrative. The term 'Levite' is here used in a sense other than that in which it is applied in the Priestly code. A 'Levite' here means one who is specially qualified for the priestly office. In the Priestly code, 'Levite' is generally used as a distinctive term for those *not* allowed to exercise priestly functions[2]. In this story a 'Levite' may belong to the family of Judah (Judg. xvii. 8). In the Priestly code, a 'Levite' is generally one of the tribe of Levi who is not of the seed of Aaron[3].

[1] The history of Micah and his priest is sometimes put aside with the remark that no valid inference can be drawn from events which happened in times of lawlessness, when 'every man did that which was right in his own eyes' (Judg. xvii. 6; xxi. 25). But although incidents in the Danite raid, and the shocking disclosures in Judg. xix.—xxi., shew that the times were out of joint, the facts to which attention is directed, viz. the origin of the Danite sanctuary, and the continuance of a Mosaic priesthood there, are not affected thereby. They are not cited as instances of lawlessness, but by way of giving information about a sanctuary in northern Israel. The important point to bear in mind is this: the earliest reference to priesthood (outside the Priestly code) is in connexion with the family of *Moses*.

[2] P occasionally uses 'Levites' to denote both the priestly and non-priestly portions of the tribe (Num. xxxv. 1—8).

[3] In another passage (Exod. iv. 14) the term 'Levite' cannot mean a member of the tribe of Levi. The question 'Is there not Aaron thy brother the Levite?' has no meaning when addressed to Moses, unless it implies that 'Levite' *differentiates* Aaron from Moses, and attributes to Aaron a vocation or power which Moses does not possess. The context suggests that the power is that of facile speaking. The term seems to have here an official sense, irrespective of membership in a particular tribe (cf. McNeile, *Exod.* p. lxvi). How the term 'Levite' came

In the opening chapters of the books of Samuel Eli and his sons are mentioned as ministering at the temple in Shiloh, without any introductory notice of their ancestry. A man of God, in announcing to Eli the coming judgement on his house, refers the institution of the priesthood to the time when the Israelites were in Egypt (1 Sam. ii. 27, 28). The name of Eli's ancestor is not given[1]; but whoever he may be, the tradition is different from that which describes Aaron and his sons as receiving their commission at Sinai (Lev. viii., ix.). The house of Eli is here represented as the lineal descendants of a priest appointed in Egypt, with a promise to his successors in perpetuity. That promise is now withdrawn, because of their evildoings; 'I said indeed that thy house, and the house of thy father, should walk before me for ever; but now the Lord saith, Be it far from me;... I will raise me up a faithful priest, and I will build him a sure house; and he shall walk before mine anointed for ever' (1 Sam. ii. 30—35). This seems clear, that the faithful priest does not belong to Eli's house. The words 'and the house of thy father' shew also that he does not belong to the family of that ancestor,

to be employed in these different meanings is one of the most obscure points in ancient Israelite history. One thing seems certain, that the passages Exod. iv. 14, Judg. xvii., xviii., and parts of xix.—xxi. are removed by a considerable interval of time from the passages both in the Deuteronomic and Priestly codes which define the duties of Levites.

[1] From the words of *v.* 28 'Did I choose him out of all the tribes of Israel to be my priest?' it might be inferred that Levi, the head of the priestly tribe, was the ancestor referred to. 'The covenant of an everlasting priesthood' (Num. xxv. 13) was made with 'Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest' (*v.* 11); and this line of succession is known to the older tradition (Josh. xxiv. 33, and cp. Deut. x. 6). It should also be noted that one of Eli's sons bore the name of Phinehas. If it be assumed that Aaron is referred to in 1 Sam. ii. 28, the difference of tradition noted in the text still exists, as also the further difficulty that, from the whole passage ii. 27—36, it would seem that Zadok, the faithful priest, is not considered as belonging to the house of Aaron.

who was appointed priest in Egypt. The judgement on Eli involves the transfer of the priesthood from the house on which that dignity was conferred. The 'faithful priest' was Zadok, whom Solomon put in in the room of Abiathar, thereby fulfilling 'the word of the LORD, which he spake concerning the house of Eli in Shiloh,' 1 Kings ii. 27, 35.

The notices in Judges and Samuel concerning the priests at the northern sanctuaries of Dan and Shiloh contain much that is obscure; and a more detailed history of the period would no doubt help to explain them. They contain no direct reference to an Aaronite priesthood. The first book of Kings records the appointment of Zadok in place of Abiathar, but says nothing of his lineage. When the Temple was built, the priests who officiated there were called 'the sons of Zadok,' as distinguished from the priests who were connected with the 'high places' scattered throughout the land. How these latter priests obtained their position is nowhere explained. They may have been 'Levites' in the sense that Jonathan was a Levite; and it is probable that, as sanctuaries were multiplied, a priestly guild was formed. The priestly office tended to become hereditary, and the members of such a guild were regarded as a family descended from a common ancestor.

In the blessing of Moses[1] (Deut. xxxiii.) the tribe of Levi is entrusted with priestly functions. They are there indicated as giving direction (*Torah*), and offering sacrifice (ver. 10). No distinction between members of the tribe is made, nor is Aaron mentioned by name[2]. In Deut. x. 8 the tribe is described as separated 'to bear the ark of the covenant of the Lord, to stand

[1] This poetical description of the tribes is generally considered as earlier in date than the book of Deuteronomy, and a production of the northern kingdom. For details, consult the commentary on Deuteronomy.

[2] The latter half of xxxiii. 11, referring to the enemies of Levi, has led some to infer that the claims of Levi were not allowed without opposition. Other explanations of these words have been suggested. See the commentary.

before the Lord to minister unto him, and to bless in his name.' The priests are in the book of Deuteronomy called 'the priests the Levites,' or 'the priests, the sons of Levi' (xvii. 9; xviii. 1; xxi. 5; xxiv. 8; xxvii. 9; xxxi. 9). They are nowhere called 'sons of Aaron' (as in P), nor is there any intimation that the priesthood is limited to a single family in the tribe; on the contrary, the whole tribe is separated for the performance of priestly duties.

The erection of the Temple, and the splendour of its services, must have profoundly impressed the people of the southern kingdom. They would flock to the central sanctuary, as in former times men went up to Shiloh. The priests who ministered there would overshadow in importance those who still officiated at the high places. These local sanctuaries, however, continued till the time of Josiah, in spite of the attempt made in Hezekiah's reign to suppress them.

It has already been pointed out (p. 137) that the reformers in Josiah's reign insisted on restricting the worship of *Jehovah* to one place [Jerusalem], in order more effectively to uproot idolatrous practices. This limitation of worship affected not only the religious observances of the people (pp. 140 f.), but also the status of those who up to that period had ministered to them as priests of the high places. As the book of Deuteronomy makes provision for the changes necessary when worship is limited to a central sanctuary (see pp. 140 f.), it is probable that the case of the priests who up to the time of Josiah had ministered at the local sanctuaries would be noticed. Now it is enjoined in Deut. xviii. 6—8, that if any Levite 'come from any of thy gates (i.e. towns) in all Israel' to Jerusalem, he shall be allowed to minister there in the same way as his brethren which serve the Temple, and shall share the dues of the Jerusalem priests. Such a provision seems specially appropriate to the conditions existing as a consequence of Josiah's reform, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the Levites here mentioned are the dispossessed priests of the high places.

From 2 Ki. xxiii. 9 it appears that, though the priests of

the high places were called brethren, and some portion was granted to them, they were not allowed to officiate at the altar in Jerusalem. The family of Zadok had, from the time of Solomon, held the chief rank at the Temple, and would not welcome the advent of additional priests to share their position and emoluments. The repeated injunctions in Deuteronomy not to forget the Levite, but to allow him to share both in the feasts at Jerusalem, and in the tithe at the end of every three years (xiv. 27—29), shew that there was need of further provision for his maintenance ; and the commendation of him to the good-will of the charitable, along with the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, indicates his dependent position[1]. The legislation of Deuteronomy enjoins what was not enforced till the time of Josiah, and endeavours to provide for a situation created by his reform. During Josiah's reign the reformation was not carried on without opposition. The Jerusalem priesthood resisted successfully the attempt to incorporate the priests of the high places with themselves ; and on the death of Josiah the disasters which befel the nation proved an effective barrier to any further reform. The pictures drawn by Jeremiah (ch. xliv.) and Ezekiel (ch. viii.) shew that idolatrous rites were again introduced and practised freely during the last years of the kingdom.

Within twelve years of the death of Josiah, all save the poorest of the land were carried away captive. During the captivity Ezekiel had a vision of a new Temple, and received instructions for the future conduct of worship therein. The ordinances with regard to those who were to minister in the restored house deserve careful attention (xliv. 4—16). Uncircumcised foreigners shall no longer minister as they did in the old sanctuary (*vv.* 7, 9) : ' But the Levites that went far from me, when Israel went astray,

[1] The law of Num. xviii., according to which *all the tithe* was allotted to the tribe of Levi, was not known to the writer of Deuteronomy. He would hardly have directed the Israelite to spend the tithe on whatsoever his soul desired, and invite the Levite to share it with his household (Deut. xiv. 26, 27), if the *whole tithe* already belonged by Divine enactment to the tribe of Levi (Num. xviii. 21).

which went astray from me after their idols; they shall bear their iniquity. Yet they shall be ministers in my sanctuary, having oversight at the gates of the house, and ministering in the house; they shall slay the burnt offering and the sacrifice for the people, and they shall stand before (i.e. wait upon) them to minister unto them. Because they ministered to them before their idols ...they shall not come near unto me to execute the office of priest unto me, nor to come near to any of my holy things, unto the things that are most holy:...Yet will I make them keepers of the charge of the house, for all the service thereof, and for all that shall be done herein' (*vv.* 10—14).

'But the priests the Levites, the sons of Zadok, that kept the charge of my sanctuary when the children of Israel went astray from me, they shall come near to me to minister unto me; and they shall stand before (wait upon) me, to offer unto me the fat and the blood, saith the Lord GOD: they shall enter into my sanctuary, and they shall come near to my table, to minister unto me, and they shall keep my charge' (*vv.* 15, 16).

Ezekiel here makes a distinction between the Levites—those who had proved a stumbling-block to the house of Israel—and the sons of Zadok. The former were to 'bear their iniquity' (i.e. be punished for it), and not to do the office of a priest. From this it is clear that they had before officiated as priests; but henceforth they were to be degraded from that office, and, instead of offering sacrifice, were to perform the subordinate offices hitherto discharged by uncircumcised foreigners. But the sons of Zadok, who officiated in the Temple before the exile, were to retain their priestly privileges. Ezekiel makes no appeal to an exclusive right of the sons of Aaron to 'stand before [wait upon] the LORD,' according to the provisions of the Priestly code, but introduces this ordinance as a new one to be observed in the restored Temple. As a matter of fact it was not a very startling innovation, for the difference between priests officiating at the altar and priests who did not had already existed at Jerusalem as a result of the Josianic reform.

The historic background of Ezekiel's new ordinance is Jeru-

salem and its priesthood after Josiah's reform. 'The Levites that went far from me,' whose status Ezekiel proposes to change from that of priests to that of Temple servants (xliv. 10—14), were the priests who ministered at the high places before Josiah's reformation[1]. It had been proposed (Deut. xviii. 6—8) that these

[1] This identification is generally allowed. Hoonacker, *Le Sacerdoce Lévitique*, p. 194, admits that the prophet Ezekiel, in introducing the regulation of xliv. 10—14, very probably has in view the priests of the high places brought up to Jerusalem by Josiah; also that in xlviii. 11, 'the Levites,' who are there distinguished from 'the priests that are sanctified of the sons of Zadok,' are the degraded priests of xliv. 10 f. But he maintains that the distinction drawn in P between priests the sons of Aaron and Levites was known to the prophet. Bredenkamp, *Gesetz und Propheten*, 1881, p. 189, who adopted the same view, supposed that the Levites, discontented with the position assigned to them in the Priestly code, had exchanged their subordinate position in the Temple for that of priests at the high places, and that some of the priests had also gone astray. There is nothing in the Biblical narrative which indicates such change, and if the Levites had deserted their posts in the Temple, in order to officiate at the high places, Ezekiel's proposal to put them back in their original position could hardly be regarded as a punishment. What (it may be asked) would the Levites who had faithfully discharged their functions say to such a reinstatement? There would then be two classes of Levites, those who had gone astray, and those who had remained faithful. Baudissin, who expresses himself in favour of 'the priority of the Priests' code [to Ezekiel], or at least of the system represented by it,' says: There is certainly nowhere a clear expression that 'besides those who went astray and the Zadokites there is yet another group of Levites recognized by Ezekiel, namely those who had even at an earlier period occupied the position now assigned to the former *bāmoth* priests' [i.e. the priests of the high places described in xliv. 10 as 'the Levites that went far from me'] (*DB*, Vol. IV. pp. 78 *a*, 87 *a*).

The explanation of Ezek. xliv. 10—14 offered by Möller, *Are the Critics right?* pp. 125 f., is that the priests of the high places are those described as 'the Levites that went astray from me,' and that these, 'as a punishment for their transgressions, must henceforth perform in

priests, who were deprived of their emolument by the abolition of the local altars, should be admitted to serve as priests in the

the sanctuary the lower service handed over in the most recent past to the uncircumcised strangers.' The words 'in the most recent past' do not seem warranted, in view of the distinct statement of 2 Kings xi. 4 that Carites (captains of the guard A.V.) were employed to 'keep the watch of the house of the LORD' (ver. 7) in the time of Jehoiada.

Both Möller and Prof. Orr agree that 'there is certainly in these verses degradation of priests to that lower rank of service which the Priestly code assigns to the Levites' (Orr, *Problem of the O.T.*, p. 316).

The points of agreement between these writers and the statements in the text are worth noting. Hoonacker's work cited above, and his *Le lieu du culte dans la législation rituelle des Hébreux*, contain the most clearly arranged defence of the traditional view. It is possible that, as he contends (*Le Sacerdoce Lévitique*, p. 195), the distinction drawn in Ezek. xl. 45, 46 between 'the priests, the keepers of the charge of the house' [i.e. the Temple] and 'the priests, the keepers of the charge of the altar' may be based on Temple usage, and that a gradation of service was in existence in the last days of the kingdom, but it should be noted that the distinction is between *priests*, not between *priests* and *Levites*. The function assigned in xliv. 14 to 'the Levites that went far from me' (xliv. 10) seems to be the same as that assigned in xl. 45 to 'the priests the keepers of the charge of the house.' See also *OTJC*[2], pp. 359 f., and the note on p. 360.

It is sometimes said that the closing chapters of Ezekiel describe a vision, and that much of the language is symbolical. The descriptions are for the most part too exact for pure symbolism. The people in captivity were looking forward to the Return; their leaders encouraged their expectations, and were busy in making preparation for it. Their first care would be for the Temple and the worship, and Ezekiel would be active among them. There is good reason for supposing that the details in these chapters are the outcome of careful thought and consultation. The reality of the vision in which Ezekiel saw himself conducted by the heavenly messenger through the Temple of the future is not affected by supposing that the measurements and much of the description may have been coloured by his independent knowledge of the actual Temple. The mingling of reality and symbolism appears

Temple at Jerusalem. But the sons of Zadok would not agree to share their position with these country priests. Though allowed certain privileges they were not permitted to officiate at the altar; and so they became subordinate members of the Jerusalem guild. They were probably men of inferior social position, and their ritual, judged by the Zadokite standard, was defective and irregular. A division between the Levites of the capital and the country was thus called into existence, and Ezekiel justifies the attitude adopted by the Jerusalem priests towards their brethren of the high places on the ground of their idolatrous practices[1].

The priests of Jerusalem equally with the cities of Judah had 'provoked the LORD to anger' with their idolatrous abominations (Jer. vii. 17—20), and the Temple itself was profaned (Ezek. viii.). It is possible that some of these country priests would compare favourably with their brethren at the Temple in character and worship, but the distinction between them had already been drawn, and Ezekiel states authoritatively that the practice of the last days of the kingdom shall continue after the return.

on comparing cc. xl.—xlvi. with the vision of the waters issuing from the Temple in ch. xlvii., and the partition of the land in ch. xlviii. The manifestly ideal character of these two chapters renders more prominent the real and practical element in the preceding section (cc. xl.—xlvi.).

[1] The number of priests who had officiated at the high places would not be very great when Ezekiel proposed this ordinance, and none of them lived to see the Return, which was more than eighty years after the suppression of the high places. The ordinance practically affected only the descendants of these priests, who, as they had never had any opportunity of exercising priestly functions, were probably contented with the position formerly held by their fathers. But in the opinion of some, the very small number of Levites who returned (see the lists in Ezra ii. and Neh. vii., and cf. Ezra viii. 15), and certain incidents in the account of Korah's rebellion afford indications that the change was not effected without some opposition (see the remarks on Num. xvi. f. in App. I, p. 202).

But would Ezekiel have urged this distinction between the sons of Zadok and other Levites, on the ground of idolatry, if he had been acquainted with a law which forbade all but the sons of Aaron to offer sacrifice, or even to 'come nigh the vessels of the sanctuary and the altar' (Num. xviii. 3), on pain of death? Yet Ezekiel by dividing the priestly tribe of Levi into two parts, one of which shall henceforth offer sacrifice, while the other shall be deprived of its priestly rights and minister as servants of the house, lays the foundation of that difference between the sons of Aaron and the rest of their brethren the sons of Levi, which is drawn so sharply in the Priestly code.

It is also worthy of notice that Ezekiel considers his provision for the Levites who are not sons of Zadok as a punishment and a degradation, whereas the Priestly code describes the office of a Levite as a privilege (Num. xvi. 9). Moreover the right to discharge priestly functions is extended in the Priestly code: for the sons of Aaron include others beside the family of Zadok, and this change from Zadok to Aaron may indicate some further modification of the priestly caste of which no definite account has been preserved[1].

Ezekiel in drawing his distinction between the sons of Zadok and other Levites occupies a position intermediate between the legislation of D and P. His ordinances regarding the Temple and the ritual connected with it, when compared with the legislation of P shew that he is proposing a less fully developed system. If the Priestly code were already in existence it would be known to Ezekiel, who was himself a priest. Would he attempt to modify statutes which were given as 'an ordinance

[1] 'It is conceivable that the Aaronites might include priests from other sanctuaries besides that of Jerusalem, and especially from Northern Israel, and that these latter with the Zadokites were called "sons of Aaron" in view of the fact that the priesthood of Northern Israel recognized Aaron as their ancestor' (Kuenen, *Hex.*, p. 295). He refers to Oort's essay on 'the Aaronites,' and discusses the point further in his *Abhandlungen*, 1894, pp. 488 ff. See also articles in *J. Th. S.*, Jan. 1905 and July 1906 by Prof. Kennett, and Oct. 1905 by Dr McNeile.

for ever throughout your generations'? The inference seems warranted that Ezekiel was unacquainted with at least this part[1] of P.

There are yet some stages of development before Ezekiel's rules given in the captivity assume their final form as preserved in the Priestly code.

The first years after the return from exile were years of trouble and rebuke, trouble on account of bad seasons and failure of crops, rebuke because of slackness in building the 'house of the LORD.' With the help and encouragement of Haggai and Zechariah the people set forward the work, and the Temple was finished in the sixth year of Darius. The history of the next sixty years is almost a blank. It may be supposed that under the leadership of Joshua and Zerubbabel, and the influence of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, the service of the restored temple was resumed with some of its former magnificence, and was the means of uniting in a spiritual bond of common worship the returned exiles with the people that had remained in the land. But when that generation had passed away, religion declined, abuses crept in, and the prophet Malachi complains of a corrupt priesthood, of carelessness in bringing tithes and offerings, and of marriages with strangers. But in none of these three post-exilic prophets is there any definite reference to the provisions of the Priestly code as regulating the practice of the restored community. The language of Malachi is based on Deuteronomy[2]. He speaks of 'the priests the sons of *Levi*'

[1] Some parts of P, or laws similar to those now codified in P, are presupposed by Ezekiel.

[2] The prophecy of Malachi belongs to the age of Ezra and Nehemiah; but whether it was delivered before the coming of Ezra (B.C. 458), or shortly before the arrival of Nehemiah in 445, or about the time of Nehemiah's second visit (B.C. 432), cannot be determined with certainty. It would seem from Mal. iii. 10 'Bring ye the whole tithe into the storehouse' that some of the demands formulated in P had already been put forward. But the practice of giving the tithe to the sanctuary

(Mal. iii. 3) as needing purification that they may offer to the LORD an offering in righteousness. In the name of the LORD he exhorts the people, 'Remember ye the law of Moses my servant which I commanded unto him in Horeb for all Israel, even statutes and judgements' (Mal. iv. 4): compare Deut. v. 2, 31; vi. 2; x. 8; xii. 2. The law to which Malachi appeals is that of Deuteronomy. In his anxiety to secure a strict observance of the Temple ritual both on the part of priests and people, he is at one with Ezra and Nehemiah, and prepares the way for their more drastic reforms.

One event in connexion with these reforms must not be passed over: the reading of the law by Ezra to the great assembly at Jerusalem before the water gate on the first day of the seventh month (Neh. viii.). The narrative bears a close resemblance to that of the reformation instituted by Josiah. Ezra and Nehemiah take the place of Hilkiah, Shaphan, and Huldah. But whereas in the earlier assembly, after the law has been read, the king proceeds to enforce its demands, in the later congregation, the people take upon themselves the yoke of the law, and proceed to carry out its precepts. The reformation in Josiah's time is marked by the observance of a Passover such as was not holden 'from the days of the judges, nor in all the days of the kings of Israel, nor of the kings of Judah' (2 Kings xxiii. 22). The reading of the law by Ezra is followed by the observance of the Feast of Tabernacles: 'and all the congregation of them that were come out of the captivity made booths, and dwelt in the booths: for since the days of Joshua the son of Nun unto that day had not the children of Israel done so' (Neh. viii. 17).

may be older than 444; for the legislation of P constantly attaches itself to pre-existent usage. On the other hand, what is said in the text about Malachi's Deuteronomic language is not conclusive in favour of an earlier date, for he may have used the older and more familiar Deuteronomic expressions, even though he wrote after the adoption of the Priestly code (see Century Bible, *Malachi*, pp. 292, 322).

On both occasions a feast is celebrated in a special manner, and with certain accompaniments, to which no parallel can be found in the whole history of the nation. The accompaniment of the feast in Nehemiah's time was the dwelling in booths; and it is said that this had not been done since the days of Joshua. This definite pronouncement with regard to the past history of the people seems to imply that the ceremony of dwelling in booths was then introduced on the authority of the law book which was read. Dwelling in booths is enjoined in Lev. xxiii. 39—43, a part of the Holiness code which has been incorporated in P. The people in Ezra's time accept the obligation; the rule is henceforth part of the Jewish law, and placed with the rest of the legislation bearing the name of Moses. Another feature of the festival is the observance of the eighth day[1] as a 'solemn assembly' (*'ăzereth*) (Neh. viii. 18); a regulation which is found only in P.

The evidence that the Priestly code, at least in part, was at this time set before the children of Israel is conclusive. The reformation under Josiah is marked by the production of a written law, that of Deuteronomy; the reformation carried out by Ezra and Nehemiah is marked by the production of another written law, that of the Priestly code. Two distinct revisions of the constitution can be traced in the history, one in the time of Josiah before the Captivity, the other in the time of Nehemiah, after the Return. For the interval between the two, the Deuteronomic code is the law for the nation. This appears from Jeremiah's language about slaves during the siege of Jerusalem, Nehemiah's remonstrance on the subject of usury and bondage (p. 129), and the language of the post-exilic prophets (p. 170). From the time that Ezra promulgates the law, and onwards, the children of Israel are ruled by the complete law, both Deuteronomic and Priestly.

[1] Compare what has been said about this festival and the manner of its observance as related in Kings and Chronicles on p. 152.

§ 4. SUMMARY.

The preceding investigations establish a reasonable presumption that the three codes found in the Pentateuch were promulgated at different periods in the history of Israel. The varieties in the laws referring to slaves, worship, and priesthood, all point to the same conclusion; that the Priestly code is of later date than the Deuteronomic, and that the Covenant code is prior to both. This evidence in favour of the third Proposition is further corroborated by examination of the narrative in Deuteronomy. It has been shewn (p. 118) that this narrative limits the published revelation at Horeb to the Ten Words, and thus excludes the idea that further legislation, such as that contained in the Priestly code, was communicated to the children of Israel at Sinai.

In support of the second Proposition, that the Hexateuch is a composite work in which four documents can be distinguished, certain composite narratives were examined and it was shewn that they contained two accounts, one from P, the other from JE (see pp. 54—66, 74—97). From the manner in which they had been combined, the inference was drawn that P is the *later* element of the combination.

In support of the first Proposition, that the Hexateuch contains passages of later date than the times of Moses and Joshua, passages which exhibited definite indications of post-Mosaic date were considered. Among them were certain verses from Lev. xxvi., which seemed to be most naturally explained on the supposition that they were written shortly before, or during the exile.

This evidence that P is the latest contribution to the composite narrative of the Hexateuch is weighty and cumulative. It has been gathered from single passages, and groups of passages; from narratives whether treated as a whole, or resolved into their component parts; from the codes of law regarded collectively; and from particular laws in the different codes compared with one another, and with the history.

The evidence has been drawn from examination of particular passages; it may be further corroborated by a general retrospect of the whole history. The enquiry under the third Proposition has been directed to the *laws* which were delivered for the guidance of the people; the influence of the *prophets* during the greater part of Israel's career must not be forgotten. It is of the utmost importance to apprehend clearly the relation in which the prophets stand to the law, and the significance of these two factors in the development of the nation. In the following section these points will be briefly treated, but only so far as they bear upon the subject treated in this Introduction, viz. the date and authorship of the documents contained in the Hexateuch.

§ 5. THE LAW AND THE PROPHETS.

If the question be asked, What is the most prominent feature in Israel's history as represented in the books from Judges to Kings? the answer must be, Prophecy. 'The history and development of Israel was started by a prophet, and prophets conducted it all along its course[1].' The prophets themselves are conscious that the nation has been under prophetic leading since the Exodus from the land of Egypt. Amos declares in the name of the Lord: 'I brought you up out of the land of Egypt...and I raised up of your sons for prophets' (ii. 10). Hosea describes the deliverance from Egypt as effected through prophetic guidance: 'By a prophet the LORD brought Israel up out of Egypt, and by a prophet was he preserved' (xii. 13). And more expressly Jeremiah, 'Since the day that your fathers came forth out of the land of Egypt unto this day I have sent unto you all my servants the prophets' (vii. 25). The teaching has been prophetic throughout; but the nation 'hath not hearkened to the voice of the LORD' (vii. 27).

[1] Davidson, *Old Testament Prophecy*, p. 18. The whole chapter on 'Prophecy the dominating factor in Israel's history from the time of Moses onwards' should be consulted.

This prophetic teaching contains statutes and commandments, and includes 'the law which I commanded your fathers' (2 Kings xvii. 13; Zech. i. 4, 6; Ezra ix. 10—12). Moses is represented as a prophet of the highest grade (Deut. xxxiv. 10; cp. Num. xii. 6, 7), and as declaring that this gift of prophecy will continue in Israel. The passage in Deut. xviii. 15, 'The LORD thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me,' has been interpreted as receiving its complete fulfilment in Christ; but in its primary meaning it points to a succession of prophets who would carry on the work of Moses. The nations whom the Lord drave out from before Israel consulted diviners, and practised augury[1]. Not thus shall the chosen people seek to know God, but through the prophets who shall arise in each generation, to shew Israel the way wherein they should go (cf. Deut. xviii. 10—16 and 18—20). In the place of heathen sorcerers shall arise the prophets of the Lord.

The message of the prophets was at first conveyed orally; it was simple, inculcating moral truth, and directed to the whole nation. Not till the time of Amos was it preserved in writing. When the people refused to hear the voice of the prophets, and betook themselves to diviners, Isaiah is bidden to commit his message to writing as a testimony against those who would not hearken, but, instead of seeking unto their God[2], sought out those who had familiar spirits (Is. viii. 1, 16, 19, 20). In like

[1] Compare the passage from Isai. viii., and the remarks on it in the next paragraph.

[2] The reference of the words *law* and *testimony* in *vv.* 16, 20 is not, as is often thought, to the Mosaic law, but (cf. R.V.m. *teaching*) to the message and teaching of Isaiah himself, which he gives (ver. 19) as a guide in future difficulties, in preference to familiar spirits and wizards (see Skinner, *Cambridge Bible*, &c., on the passage). See also on the meaning of *Torah*, App. VI, p. 256. The similarity between this passage of Isaiah and Deut. xviii. deserves notice. In both the prophet appears in contrast with the diviner. Compare the preceding paragraph.

manner Jeremiah, after a long oral ministry, is commanded to commit his prophecies to writing, and dictates them to Baruch, in the hope that the house of Judah will take heed to them, and return from their evil way. When the spoken word of the prophet fails, the word is written in a book that others may hearken, and the word of the Lord may not return to him void.

This development of prophetic teaching, according to which written prophecy follows after oral prophecy, and, when the spoken word fails, the written message remains as a witness, is one of the most interesting facts recorded in the history of prophecy[1]. It also marks an epoch for the historian; for the period of written prophecy affords the first opportunity of supplementing the historical record by the words of those who moulded the thought and guided the action of the people.

Along with the *Torah* of the prophets, there was also the *Torah* of the priests, which, it may reasonably be supposed, was developed on similar lines. At first handed down orally, the decisions of priests would in course of time be committed to writing, then arranged in subjects, and codified. In this way traditions of great antiquity may have been preserved at the local sanctuaries, as well as at Jerusalem. It is possible that the step from oral to written *Torah* was taken earlier in the case of priestly, than in the case of prophetic *Torah*. Details connected with different kinds of food, compensation for injuries, settlement of disputes, were matters about which every man would at some time seek guidance, and obtain direction (*Torah*) from the priest. The earliest code preserved in the Pentateuch (that in JE, see p. 110) is generally assigned to a period before the commencement of written prophecy; and portions of it may have existed in writing before they were codified. It deals mainly with civil duties, and such questions as would be referred to a priest or judge for decision.

The earliest prophets whose writings have been preserved appear in opposition to, rather than in alliance with, the priests.

[1] See Skinner, *Isai. i.—xxxix.*, *Cambridge Bible*, Introduction, p. xxxi.

They blame the people for putting their trust in external observances, and neglecting weightier matters, justice, truth, and the knowledge of God (Amos iv. 4, 5; v. 4—15, 21—24; Isai. i. 10—17). From these and other passages it appears that sacrifices were offered and festivals observed, and that rules for regulating this worship formed an important part of the priestly *Torah*. Micah accuses both priests and prophets: 'the priests teach for hire, and the prophets divine for money' (iii. 11, where the Heb. word translated 'teach' means 'give *Torah*,' i.e. a decision or instruction, cp. Hos. iv. 8 and App. VI). Hosea censures both priests and people alike (Hos. iv. 9; v. 1). It is evident that the prophets of this period look upon the priests as failing in their duty of teaching the people the knowledge of God.

The prophets, in denouncing both priests and people, 'make no appeal to the sacred authority of any written standard of law or doctrine[1].' They do not represent Moses as the giver of a law which the people have transgressed and the priests have perverted, but exhibit a spirit of detachment from priestly ritual which is difficult to explain on the supposition that authoritative rules on these subjects were already in existence, and attributed to Moses. The prophets recognize Moses as the head of their guild; the first in a succession of men chosen to declare the divine word to Israel, but they do not recognize him as a lawgiver prescribing rules for worship at the Tabernacle, which have the force of 'statutes for ever throughout their generations.' Such a conception of the office and work of Moses is not found in the prophetic literature: Malachi is the first to mention the law of Moses (iv. 4), and Ezekiel is the only prophet who proposes regulations relating to the externals of worship.

The attitude of the earlier prophets towards law and ceremonial worship becomes modified in the time of Josiah. The reformation carried out by that king was effected with the concurrence both of priest and of prophet: the book of Deuteronomy is an expansion of existing law in the prophetic

[1] Ryle, *Can. of O. T.*[2], p. 33. The whole of the remarks on the Laws, pp. 22—33, deserve careful study.

spirit. This change in prophetic action is caused by the changed circumstances of the age. Written law is there, and received as authoritative. The prophet cannot ignore the fact; his mission now is to prophesy over these dry bones of legal enactment, that they may become a living word to Israel. So the writer of Deuteronomy conceived his call to speak to his generation; in his book 'laws, old and new alike, lived in the spirit of Moses, and glowed with the vehemence of prophecy. The tone in which the law was here expounded to the people was something new. It marked the close of one era, it heralded the beginning of another.....The book was recognized as a divine gift, and lifted, though but for a passing moment, the conception of the nation's religion above the routine of the priesthood's traditional worship' (Ryle, *Can. of O.T.*[2], p. 61).

The written law had entered, with prophetic sanction, as an active agent in the life of the nation. It grew, and became more detailed and ceremonial in character. During the captivity, Ezekiel sets before the people a ritual law for the second temple. The similarity between that law and some of the provisions of the code read before the returned exiles by Ezra is recognized by all writers. How the people received that code, and bound themselves by a covenant to observe its precepts, has already been described (see p. 171).

The history sets forth the era of the prophets first, followed by an era of legal enactments. The course of prophecy in Israel, as far as its relation to the priestly *Torah* is concerned, may be divided into three stages; of (1) independence, (2) alliance, (3) subordination.

(1) At first, the prophets are *independent* of the priests; they appear as the religious leaders of the nation, and are the direct means of communication between God and the people. They make no appeal to a law, issued by divine authority through Moses. Even in the time of Josiah, when a book of law (*Torah*) is found in the Temple, the king does not appeal to Hilkiah the priest, but to Huldah the prophetess, in order to ascertain the authority of the message contained in the book.

(2) In the time of Josiah a period of *alliance* commences. The prophets unite with the priests in propounding a law for the people; but there is little trace of its influence during the remainder of Josiah's life. With the death of the king at Megiddo corruption again creeps in, and in the next generation the people are swept into exile.

Another effort is made to guide the people by means of written law: Ezekiel, the prophet-priest of the exile, has a vision of the restored temple, and issues new regulations for priests and service (see note on pp. 166 f.).

(3) These regulations (in modified form) are set before the people in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh. viii.). When they are accepted the function of the prophet becomes *subordinate*; interest is centred in the law, and the 'scribe' appears; his function is to preserve the written document, and to interpret its provisions. As the written law assumes its final shape, the utterances of the prophet become more rare, and are little heard after the introduction of the Priestly code.

The course of prophetic activity, as shewn in the history of the nation, and presented in the preceding summary, furnishes strong corroboration of the argument deduced from the examination of the laws. Prophecy, as a factor in Israel's development, is not adequately explained on the supposition that a complete legal system, such as that contained in the Priestly code, was in operation from the beginning. There is no proof that such a system was in existence before the exile, and the historic fact, that with the acceptance of this system after the Return, prophetic activity ceased, seems to point to the conclusion that the function of the prophet as a revealer of God's will was incompatible with the existence of the fully developed legal system. The prophet's duty is to declare the will of God; if that will is already manifested in a law containing in large measure priestly ritual, the prophet must be, to a great extent, *subordinate* to that law. He must inveigh against disobedience to it, and illustrate and apply its precepts. Where in the earlier prophets is there a trace of such action? They regard priestly rites as governed

by custom, and as in no way within their province. Their conduct cannot be satisfactorily explained on the supposition that a divine law of ritual, such as that contained in the Priestly code, is already in existence; and, conversely, the assumption that such a law does exist involves an estimate of the prophetic office far below that which the history requires[1]. The more fully the prophets are studied, the more clearly will the directness of their mission appear. The expression 'the law and the prophets' indicates the order in which these two parts of Scripture were received into the Canon; it dates from a period when both written law and prophecy had become fixed in form, and affords no evidence as to the order in which portions, either of the law or of the prophets, were originally communicated to the chosen people.

A few words may be added in explanation of the term Mosaic as applied to the laws contained in Deuteronomy, and in the Priestly code.

The prophets in their messages to the people do not represent themselves as teaching *new* truths to Israel about Jehovah; they rather accuse the people of departing from the *old* truth which has been revealed concerning Him. What Jehovah *is*, that they declare; and they lay stress on the fact that He has always been the same. This characteristic of the prophetical *Torah* is also characteristic of the priestly *Torah*. But there is a difference between prophecy and law. A unity underlies the prophetic message, in that it reveals the One God who is the same, however the condition of the people and state may change. But law, being the rule for the people, may and does vary according to the circumstances of time and place. The lawgivers, however, seem actuated by the prophetic spirit and desirous of exhibiting law as the same from the beginning. In enunciating law in modern dress, they set it forth as old law, and whenever it is promulgated, it is described as part of the law given by Moses the servant of God.

[1] See Robertson Smith, *OTJC*[2], pp. 311—314, for further illustration of this point; also pp. 227—232 on the traditional view of the Pentateuch.

In this there is no attempt to deceive[1]. God's whole counsel for the nation is conceived as implicitly given at Sinai, and revealed to the people when they were fitted to receive it. The idea is found in Deuteronomy, where Moses receives the law at Horeb, but does not at once impart it. The law is one, as God is one; but unity does not exclude development, and the law for Israel, as at present contained in the Pentateuch, exhibits ample evidence[2] of such development. It is the work both of prophet and of priest, each in turn setting forth that which they believed to be the word of God to their generation, but embodying principles which they regarded as communicated by God to Moses when they were delivered from bondage, and chosen by Him as a people, in order that 'they might keep his statutes and observe his laws.'

§ 6. CONCLUDING REMARKS.

(i) *The redaction of the Hexateuch.*

The preceding arguments tend to shew that the formation of the Pentateuch and book of Joshua must have been gradual. The reader will ask, How have these books been brought into their present form? There must be a conjectural element in any answer to this question, as the historical data are imperfect. With this reservation, the following sketch of the probable steps in the formation of the Pentateuch and book of Joshua is appended by way of conclusion, as an attempt to supply an answer in accord with the facts of the history, so far as they are known.

Before the Deuteronomic legislation, the people possessed historical and legal records, some of which have been pre-

[1] Compare the reference by the Greeks to Σόλων ὁ νομοθέτης, the ascription by the Romans of law to the XII tables, and the remarks of Robertson Smith on 'legal fictions' (*OTJC*[2], pp. 384 f.).

[2] The reader may be reminded that only an outline of this evidence has been laid before him in the preceding investigation. The commentaries on each book will supply details.

served in JE. When the component parts of this document were committed to writing cannot be determined precisely. Indications are not wanting that the writers are separated by some interval of time from the events which they describe, e.g. the reference to other works, such as the Book of the Wars of the Lord, the book of Jashar, and expressions which imply settlement in the land (see pp. 45—49). After the Disruption, the common tradition would assume different forms among the northern and southern tribes; and it seems probable that J and E represent the versions of the past history current in the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel[1]. The existence of two accounts, covering nearly the same ground, may in this way be most easily explained, and it is also natural to suppose that, when the kingdom of Israel came to an end, the surviving kingdom of Judah might incorporate portions of the northern records with its own.

In JE narrative is most prominent. It contains almost all the patriarchal history which charms the reader of Genesis, and in Exodus, Numbers, and Joshua supplies most of those graphic touches which impart life to the narrative. In respect of the small amount of legislation which it contains, it affords a contrast both to D and P. In JE the law is an appendage to the narrative. In D and P the narrative serves as an introduction to the law.

The Deuteronomic code (Deut. xii.—xxvi.) is in the absence of direct testimony generally assigned to the period when its characteristic precepts first appear to be recognized as law for the nation—to the seventh century B.C. The close connexion of Deuteronomy with Josiah's reform is easily recognized, and has already been pointed out (see pp. 141 f.). The exact character of

[1] It should be noted that, if it be assumed that J and E represent Judahite and Ephraimite versions of the history, the common base of this history is carried back to the period before the Disruption. This common tradition of a past history was gradually shaped by prophetically minded teachers.

that connexion cannot be determined with certainty; but it may safely be asserted that the teaching which exercised such profound influence on King Josiah and the nation has been recorded in Deuteronomy and the earlier prophecies of Jeremiah.

A distinction must be drawn between the laws embedded in Deut. xii.—xxvi., and the *oratorical expansion* of them, which is found in the accompanying discourse. Many, perhaps the majority of these laws, are much older than the existing book of Deuteronomy. Where laws of JE are repeated (generally with modifications), this is, of course, evident; but there is no reason why other laws in Deuteronomy may not be based on older sources, other than the Covenant code. Some of the ritual *Torah* regulating the worship and practice both at the Temple and at the different sanctuaries of the land was already known, certainly by oral tradition, and probably also through written precepts. That much of this *Torah* was ancient seems certain; and in assigning Deuteronomy, or parts of it, to the time of Josiah, it is by no means suggested or implied, that *Torah*, both civil and priestly, was not already in existence, and possibly in written form. The laws in Deuteronomy do not, in most cases, afford definite indication of their date[1]. It is rather the environment of the laws, the basis of the appeal to obedience, and the prophetic character of the teaching, that stamp the book as a product of the later prophetic period. These shew that in Deuteronomy there is a reproduction of that which is old, combined with a setting forth of that which is new.

When D was accepted as a law book for the community, its amalgamation with the previously existing sources J and E would probably soon follow. The sources J and E may have continued in use as separate documents for some time after they were united, and may have been used by the writer of Deuteronomy. But the view that the compound story (i.e. JE, not J and E separately) was the written source that lay before

[1] This assertion must be understood as qualified by what has already been stated with reference to the law of the one sanctuary, and its consequences. See p. 142.

the Deuteronomic authors is adopted by many (see *OTJC*², p. 424, and the note, but cp. Kuenen, *Hexateuch*, § 13, p 249, and note 27, p. 253).

The activity of the Deuteronomic authors was not confined to the book of Deuteronomy. Their work is clearly to be traced in the book of Joshua. The old narrative of JE, which carried on the history up to the time of settlement in the land, has, to use a modern term, been 'edited' by a writer imbued with the spirit of Deut., and using the same style. The first chapter in the book of Joshua takes up the narrative at the death of Moses, and is evidently intended to be read as a continuation of the book of Deuteronomy. The style of the Deuteronomic editor is most marked here, and in chap. xxiii.; other additions from his pen are indicated in *LOT*⁸, § 6, Joshua, pp. 104 ff. The history of the people in the land, as contained in the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, has also been edited in the same spirit[1]. 'Thus all the non-priestly parts of the Hexateuch were united into one book, to which Judges, Samuel, and Kings, in the Deuteronomic redaction, formed the continuation' (*OTJC*², p. 425). The whole formed the law book and history of the people for the first ninety years after the Return, and until the introduction of the Priestly code.

The captivity and destruction of the Temple put an end for a time to the national worship, but the exiles in Babylon were encouraged to hope that after chastisement in exile, worship would again be celebrated in the restored Temple. A suitable, one might almost say necessary, occupation for the Babylonian exiles would be to put on record the practice of the priests in the old Jerusalem Temple, to serve as a guide for worship after the return. Ezekiel's rules for the temple and its services are based on ritual usages; and the collection of laws now embedded in Lev. xvii.—xxvi., generally known as the 'Law of

[1] See for details *LOT*⁸ on these books. The additions are most marked in Judges and Kings.

Holiness[1],' may with some confidence be regarded as the result of an attempt to preserve pre-exilic law, adapting it to suit the needs of the time[2]. The further labours of the children of the captivity may be found in the book of the law which Ezra brought with him from Babylon.

Some are of opinion that the Pentateuch nearly in its present form was the book of the law which Ezra 'brought before the congregation' (Neh. viii.); but on the whole it seems more probable that the priestly legislation only was read. The interval which elapsed between Ezra's return and the solemn reading of the law described in Neh. viii. (about which interval so little is recorded in the scripture narrative) may have been spent by Ezra in commending his proposals to the community already established in Jerusalem. The reading of the Law is generally assigned to the year 444 B.C. When it had been accepted by the people, steps would be taken to incorporate it with the already existing book formed out of JE and D.

Owing to the predominance of the legal element in P, the result of the incorporation was to produce a law book rather than a history; it was probably with a view to emphasize this aspect of the combination that the book of Joshua was at this stage separated from the preceding books[3]. A division into parts would naturally follow: the book of Genesis at the beginning, and the book of Deuteronomy at the end, are obviously separated by their subject-matter from the middle portion; and this latter was further divided into books approximating in length to the other two. Thus the Pentateuch would assume its present form, with its division into five books. The book of the

[1] See above, p. 112.

[2] The elements due to P in these chapters have been added later.

[3] 'The legislation really closes with Deuteronomy and the account of Moses' death, and it was legislation which Ezra and Nehemiah were anxious to enforce,' *DB*, Art. JOSHUA, Vol. II. p. 784. It is there stated as probable 'that the JE, D, and P portions of Joshua were combined by another and later editor than the editor who combined the same documents in the Pentateuch.'

law was appropriately closed with an account of the lawgiver's death, to which account the three principal sources JE, D, and P have all contributed[1].

(ii) *Ancient customs preserved in D and P.*

Though these collections of laws (contained in D and P) acquired canonical sanction at so late a period in Jewish history, it must not be inferred that the laws themselves were all new. Both collections (those in D and P) are, in large measure, expansions and codifications of existing law. That this is the case with the greater part of the Deuteronomic code is evident on comparing it with the Covenant code (Exod. xxi.—xxiii.), and it may safely be assumed that the object of the Babylonian exiles was to preserve the old ritual of the Temple. The codes both of D and P contain precepts of great antiquity, handed down by tradition, and also by means of written documents, from the early days of the nation. Both codes contained, in addition, developments which, it is reasonable to suppose, were not admitted without some questionings. But the reforms both under Josiah and under Ezra were carried in their entirety, because they were recognized as based upon existing custom, and presenting in written form acknowledged ritual and practice.

If this combination of ancient law with modern development be recognized, the true explanation of certain passages in the early history will be apparent. These passages[2] either contain words which occur, or refer to observances concerning which regulations are given, in the Priestly code. As an illustration 1 Sam. iii. 3 may be quoted. It is clear from that verse that a lamp burned in the temple at Shiloh. A law which enjoins the

[1] A few passages in the history as contained in Judges—Kings, some of which are noted on pp. 273 ff., shew that the Deuteronomic redaction of these books has been in parts further revised by a priestly writer.

[2] These passages are often quoted as evidence that the law as contained in D and P was in force at an early period in the history of Israel.

use of lamps in the Tabernacle is found in P (Exod. xxv. 31 f., xxvii. 21; Lev. xxiv. 3). The mention of the lamp in the history affords no evidence that the law contained in P was in existence in Samuel's time; the use of a lamp was an ancient custom, known to the writer of 1 Samuel, but the reference to it does not prove that the developed ritual of P, which required seven lamps to burn during the whole night, was in force when Samuel slept in the temple of the Lord[1].

The Nazirite vow affords another illustration of custom which existed in ancient Israel being regulated by provisions in P. Samson is a Nazirite (Judg. xiii. 5, 7; xvi. 17); Samuel has some of the distinguishing marks of the Nazirite. Regulations for the Nazirite vow and sacrifice are found in Num. vi. 2—21 (P). But Nazirites in the early history are dedicated from birth, and yield a life-long service; the regulations in P provide for those who take upon themselves a vow for a definite period, and prescribe certain ceremonies to be observed and sacrifices to be offered at the end of that period, when the Nazirite has fulfilled his obligation, and assumes the position of an ordinary Israelite. The provisions of P are obviously inapplicable to the earlier Nazirites; Samson and the Nazirite of Num. vi. have little in common beyond the name; the mention of Nazirite in the early history and in Amos ii. 11 f. proves nothing as to the date of P. The presumption is, that as the Nazirite in P differs so much in character from the early Nazirite, both he, and P's regulations concerning him, belong to a *different* period, i.e. they do not belong to the early history.

These two illustrations are sufficient to shew that words or phrases, *by themselves*, afford no proof that the ceremonial system as existing in P was operative when the narrative containing such words or phrases was written. The institutions of Israel are of *great antiquity*. Sacrifice and worship, distinction of meats, abstention from blood, and other observances, formed part of their religion from the beginning: it is not

[1] Further observations on 1 Sam. i.—iii. will be found in the note at the end of this section.

doubted that such observances were, from the first, regulated by authority. The argument in the third Proposition tends to shew that in Israel's law, as in that of other nations, a development can be traced; and that P represents the latest stage in such development. Bearing in mind the fact that *ancient* custom forms the basis of the *developed* system contained in the Priestly code, it is reasonable to expect that the history will shew some points of affinity with P; and that these will become more numerous and definite as the history progresses. A careful study of the evidence afforded both by the historical and prophetical books shew that this expectation is correct.

The following expressions[1] may be noted as occurring in the history:

1 Sam. ii. 28, 'all the offerings of the children of Israel made by fire.' The word for *offerings made by fire* (Heb. *'ishshē*, or 'fire offerings') is frequently used in the Levitical law (Lev. i. 9; xxiii. *passim*).

1 Sam. xxi. 1—6. The account of the shewbread which was given by Ahimelech to David and his young men shews clearly that the custom of putting the shewbread 'before the LORD' was observed by Ahimelech. The ordinance concerning the shewbread is in Lev. xxiv. 5—9. It was to be eaten by Aaron and his sons, i.e. by priests. The narrative in Samuel does not furnish any *proof* that Ahimelech is acquainted with this ordinance restricting the use of the holy bread to the priests; his words, as recorded in 1 Sam. xxi. 4, are consistent with the supposition that in his day the shewbread might be eaten by laymen, provided that they were ritually clean. See *DB*, Vol. IV. p. 495.

The Philistines send back a 'guilt offering' (*'āshām*) with the ark (1 Sam. vi. 3, 4, 8, 17). The same Heb. word is used for one kind of sacrifice prescribed in Lev. i.—vii. (see p. 150). The Philistine offering consists of golden images.

'The LORD smelled the sweet savour' (Gen. viii. 21). The

[1] For a full list of such expressions see Driver, *LOT*[8], pp. 142—152. Those given in the text are selected from his list.

expression 'sweet savour' or 'savour of satisfaction' is frequently used in sacrificial ritual (Lev. i., iii. *passim*).

The passages here quoted shew that some of the expressions in P are very old, and that some of the institutions for which P supplies regulations can be traced back to very early times; they do *not*[1] shew that the regulations in P are of the same antiquity as the institutions themselves; on the contrary, whenever a description is found in the history, there is generally some deviation from P's special rules; the impression is produced that the custom or ceremony was observed more simply than is required by the prescriptions of P. Both 'ancient' and 'modern' are found in P; the history, when alluding to what is 'ancient,' does not prove that what is 'modern' was also known in the time of the narrator.

In Deuteronomy the evidence of acquaintance with elements preserved in P is more varied and decisive. This acquaintance does not prove the dependence of D on P; it is just what might be expected, if the date of Deuteronomy is that assigned to it in the preceding investigation (pp. 136—142). By the time of Josiah, priestly *Torah* had developed, and parts of it had probably assumed a written form. Deuteronomy expressly

[1] The reason why these passages are not accepted as sufficient evidence for the existence of P when they were written is not always appreciated. Some writers say, Why is the mere allusion not enough? and they ask, with an air of surprise, Why should express and distinct statements be demanded? Are they to be expected in a history? The answer is, If there were no *independent* reasons for regarding P as late, these allusions might be accepted as sufficient: but there *are* such reasons; they have been laid before the reader in the preceding pages. More than a mere allusion is not to be expected in a historical account; but then these allusions are not sufficient to overweigh the strong *independent* grounds for referring P to a later date, especially when, as has been pointed out in the text, some deviation from P's rules is expressed or implied. The rare allusions to Levites in the books of Samuel are noticed in App. VII, pp. 275 f.

refers to the priests as authoritative guides in cases of leprosy, and they would probably quote *Torah* already in existence which concerned the laity (xxiv. 8). The distinction between clean and unclean in food is a feature of Semitic religions; it must have been known in Israel from the earliest times. Allusion to it is found in Judg. xiii. 4, 7; it is a subject on which decisions would be sought, and *Torah* would be issued. The list of clean and unclean in Deut. xiv. shews such close verbal coincidence with the list in Lev. xi. as to make it clear that one of them is dependent on the other, or that both are derived from a common original. Since the existence of *Torah* concerning food may be regarded as certain, the hypothesis that both passages are based on some earlier list seems most probable. No definite conclusion can be drawn as to the priority of either passage: the general question, whether the Deuteronomic or the Priestly code is the earlier, must be determined on other grounds; the list in Deut. xiv. contributes nothing towards its solution.

In the provision for the cities of Refuge, two expressions are common to Deuteronomy and the Priestly code: these have been pointed out on p. 122.

There are also references to Burnt and Peace Offerings, tithes, freewill offerings, the prohibition to eat blood, and the flesh of that which dieth of itself. Wherever it is possible to compare regulations on the same subject, the comparison shews that D is independent of P, and exhibits the particular law or institution in a simpler and less developed form than that found in P.

The inference that the developed system of P is unknown to Deuteronomy is confirmed by an examination of the books of Kings. These books were compiled about the middle of the sixth century B.C. The writer knows a law of Moses; but when he quotes particular statutes, they are those of Deuteronomy (e.g. 2 Kings xiv. 6). He represents David as exhorting his son Solomon (1 Kings ii. 1—3) to observe that which is written in the law of Moses; the words are closely parallel to those in Josh. i. 6—8, part of the Deuteronomic revision of the book of

Joshua[1]. Jeroboam is blamed for making priests who were not of the sons of Levi (1 Kings xii. 31). The phrase of Deuteronomy is adopted, rather than that of P, who would have written 'the sons of Aaron.' Throughout, the writer judges individuals by the standard of the Deuteronomic law[2], in marked distinction from the Chronicler of a later period, who represents the pious kings as obeying in all its details the developed system of P. An instance of this has already been pointed out on p. 152, with reference to the duration of the Feast of Tabernacles; further illustrations will be found in App. VII, pp. 268 ff. The inference seems justified that P's regulations obtained recognition at some date after that of the books of Kings, i.e. after the middle of the sixth century B.C. Reasons for associating this acceptance of P with the solemn reading of the law recorded in Neh. viii. have already been given on p. 172.

[1] This passage cannot be regarded as furnishing evidence that Deuteronomy was known to David. Its Deuteronomic style shews that the language is due to the compiler. See Introduction to *Kings I, II* (1908) in this series, § 3, Structure and Sources, pp. xviii—xxi, and for the date assigned, pp. xxi, xxii of the same section.

[2] The phraseology of P is found in 1 Kings viii. 1 ff. The omission of the passages in the LXX. is a strong argument for concluding that they are a later addition. See *Kings I, II*, p. 70 and App. VII, p. 273.

Note on 1 Samuel I.—VII.

The whole account of the temple at Shiloh, contained in 1 Sam. i.—iii., is of special interest, being one of the few passages in the O.T. in which ancient ritual and custom are described. The ark was in the temple at Shiloh; a legitimate priesthood (according to 1 Sam. ii. 27 chosen in Egypt) officiated there; it was a place of assembly for all Israel. Here sacrifice would be duly offered, and worship celebrated according to a properly authorized standard. If the rites prescribed in the Priestly code had been in existence from the time of Moses, surely some evidence of their observance would be found at Shiloh where the Lord caused His 'name to dwell at the first' (Jer. vii. 12). But, though these opening chapters of the book of Samuel have been carefully examined, no definite trace of P, *as a system*, has been found. There are verbal resemblances between the story in Samuel and the Priestly code; these are fully accounted for by the explanation offered in the text, viz. that some of the institutions in P are of great antiquity, and have their roots in the early history; in the time of Eli and Samuel they have not yet reached the mature stage of development exhibited in the Priestly code.

Reference has been made on p. 187 to 'the lamp of God in the temple of the Lord,' 1 Sam. iii. 3. It is there brought forward as an illustration of that verbal resemblance which simply attests the antiquity of a custom, but *not* the ritual development of that custom contained in P. Professor Orr is of opinion that it suggests the prescriptions of the Levitical code (*Problem of the O. T.*, p. 171); he also alleges (p. 172) that Elkanah's 'sacrifice for his vow is according to the law' and refers to Lev. vii. 16 and Num. xv. 8—10. Elkanah's action, considered with reference to the second of these passages, is not strictly 'according to the law.' He and his wife Hannah bring 'a bullock' (1 Sam. i. 24; the reading of LXX. and Syr. given in R.V. marg. '*a bullock of three years old*' is better than the 'three bullocks' of R.V. and A.V., because it is in accord with ver. 25, 'And they slew the bullock,' which implies that only one bullock was brought), 'and one ephah of meal, and a bottle

(or, *skin*, R.V. marg.) of wine.' The bullock is one of the animals specified in Num. xv. 8—10, but it is there (ver. 9) prescribed that 'a meal offering of three tenth parts of an ephah of fine flour mingled with half an hin of oil' should be brought as an accompaniment of the animal sacrifice; this could not have been furnished out of the 'ephah of meal' (*ḳĕmaḥ*), for the law required 'fine flour' (*ṣōleth*), and no mention is made of the oil in Samuel. The fact that Elkanah came to the sanctuary has nothing whatever to do with P; all three codes enjoin this observance (see p. 151 and notes).

Now if other passages in the books of Samuel afforded clear indication that the developed system of P was known to the writer, minor points of divergence might be disregarded. It might be urged with reason that, in a simple story, popular language would be employed, and not technical ritual terms. But when such clear indications are not to be found, but, on the contrary, the books convey the impression that a simpler ritual was observed, it is necessary to insist that this popular language must not be pressed beyond its precise meaning. The similarity to P is only in *the names*; a thorough examination of the facts shews points of contrast with P, rather than points of resemblance. The *things* which the names connote in Samuel and in P are different.

One of the chief features of the tabernacle worship is the withdrawal of the ark into an inner shrine, entered only by the high priest with solemn rites once a year. To take this ark into the battle is so manifest a breach of the law as contained in P, that it is comparatively a minor point to discuss how near Samuel was to the ark when he slept in the temple. Yet 1 Sam. iii. 3 in the correct translation of R.V. does suggest that he slept near it; else why should the position of the ark be specified? And where are the Levites who according to the law should be ministering about the Tent? They are mentioned neither in this narrative, nor in 1 Sam. vii. 1, where the men of Kiriath-jearim fetch the ark from Bethshemesh, and place it in the house of Abinadab. And where are the priests the sons of Aaron, of P, when it is found necessary (1 Sam. vii. 1) to consecrate Abinadab's son Eleazar, to keep the ark? When the ark was restored by the Philistines, it was brought into the fields of Bethshemesh at harvest time; the reapers rejoiced to see the ark, broke up the cart on which it was brought, and offered the kine which drew the cart as a sacrifice (vi. 13, 14). The statement in vi. 15 that 'the Levites took down the ark of the LORD' is difficult to adjust with the non-mention of any Levites in the particulars given of

the sacrifice in the previous verse, and probably the words 'the Levites' are substituted for an original 'they.'

The sanctuary at Shiloh is called a *hêkhâl* (1 Sam. i. 9; iii. 3), the usual word for 'temple' (1 Kings vi. 3 etc.); it has 'doors' (1 Sam. iii. 15), not a mere entrance (*pêthaḥ*), like the Tent of both E (Exod. xxxiii. 9, 10; Num. xii. 5: the 'door' in R.V. and A.V. of these passages should be 'entrance' as in Heb.) and P (Exod. xxvi. 36, xxix. 4; and frequently); also a door-post (1 Sam. i. 9). The description, though only incidental, seems sufficient to shew that, by the time of Eli, the Tabernacle had been replaced by a more solid structure of permanent character. The whole account of David's bringing up the ark to Mount Zion, and placing it in the Tent which he had prepared (2 Sam. vi.), furnishes a strong presumption that the Tabernacle had disappeared. Frequent mention is made of the ark from the time of its capture by the Philistines to the time when it was brought by David to Mount Zion, but without reference to the Tent, which according to the law is regarded as its necessary shelter. If that Tent had existed in David's time it is difficult to suggest a reason why he should have prepared another. The historian who records that preparation would surely explain why the ancient Tabernacle was set aside in favour of a newer Tent. Again, this Tent of David is referred to as 'the Tent (tabernacle A.V.) of the LORD' (1 Kings ii. 29, 30), a title hardly appropriate if the original Tabernacle was still in existence. From it Zadok took the horn of oil to anoint Solomon (1 Kings i. 39), and before it was the altar to which Adonijah (i. 50) and Joab (ii. 29) fled for refuge. The reasons for supposing that the Tabernacle lasted so long are (1) the reference to 'the Tent of meeting' in 1 Sam. ii. 22 *b*, a passage which is clearly based on Exod. xxxviii. 8. But this clause, for two good reasons, (*a*) that it gives the name 'Tent of meeting' to that which elsewhere in the same context (1 Sam. i. 9, iii. 3) is called a temple, (*b*) that the clause is wanting in the LXX., is in all probability not part of the original story: (2) the statement in 1 Kings viii. 4, that the Tent of meeting was put into the Temple. But reasons have been given above for supposing that the Mosaic tent had disappeared, and there can be little doubt that 1 Kings viii. 1—11 has been interpolated (see App. VII, p. 274). The reference here to the tent may be a scribal addition, and is so regarded by Skinner, *Century Bible*, and Barnes, *Cambridge Bible* (see their notes on 1 Kings viii. 4), and *DB*, Vol. IV. p. 654 *b*.

It is sometimes urged that the period of Samuel's activity was one of religious disorganization, and therefore exact conformity could not be expected. Even if the validity of this plea be accepted, its application in the case of Samuel may be questioned. He stands out in the narrative as the religious reformer of his age, who calls on the people to prepare their 'hearts unto the LORD and serve him only' (1 Sam. vii. 3).

His efforts to recall the people to the true worship of *Jehovah* would certainly be based on the precepts of the Priestly code, if they were then known as an authorized standard of observance. In the record there is no indication that Samuel was acquainted with P, and much which suggests that he was *not*. But, apart from the question of how much or how little of the narrative may be in conflict with the demands of P, an important point to notice is the *attitude of the historian* towards the whole narrative. He never suggests that the observances which he mentions are not in accord with an ancient recognized standard, but considers them as ordinary procedure, which is acceptable to God. Now the books of Kings and of Chronicles are written by historians who clearly shew acquaintance with a code, in the case of Kings with the code of Deuteronomy, and in the case of Chronicles with the Priestly code. Their records note observance and non-observance of the law, and are ready with an apology for infringement of it (1 Kings iii. 2). In this respect both writers appear in marked contrast to the historian of Samuel. The inference seems obvious: the writer of Samuel is not acquainted with the two codes which were the standard authorities to the writers of Kings and Chronicles respectively.

APPENDIX I.

Passages in the Hexateuch assigned to P.

A general description of the document P has been given in pp. 54—71. The following table indicates the limits of P throughout the Hexateuch, and the headings in *italics* describe its contents. As in the first four books (Genesis—Numbers) little is found which does not belong either to JE or P, this table will also serve to indicate the limits of JE for these books. A few notes have been added pointing out where passages have been discussed, or giving short reasons for the analysis. The notes are *introductory* in character, and for further information the reader is referred to the commentaries on the separate books.

Genesis.

The Creation	
I. 1—II. 4 *a*.	See notes on this passage on pp. 54, 55, and the comparison of it with ii. 4 *b*—iii. 24 on pp. 59, 60; also the inference (1) on p. 61.
Generations of the heaven and of the earth	
Generations of Adam	
V. 1—28, 30—32.	On ch. v. see notes on pp. 57, 58.
Generations of Noah	
VI. 9—12.	See p. 74 for comparison of this passage with *vv.* 5—8.
The Flood	
VI. 13—22.	The accounts of the Flood in cc. vi.—ix. are examined in pp. 74—81, and the grounds of the division indicated.
VII. 6, 7—9 (partly), 11, 13—16 *a*, 18—21, 24.	
VIII. 1, 2 *a*, 3 *b*—5, 13 *a*, 14—19.	
IX. 1—17, 28, 29.	

Generations of the sons of Noah
X. 1—7, 20, 22, 23, 31, 32.

On cc. x., xi. see the note on p. 61, and p. 62.

Generations of Shem
XI. 10—26.

Generations of Terah
XI. 27, 31, 32.

Abraham
XII. 4 *b*, 5.
XIII. 6, 11 *b*, 12.

Note the great similarity to xi. 31.

From 'and they separated...' (*v.* 11) down to '...cities of the Plain' (*v.* 12).

XVI. 1 *a* to 'children': 3, 15, 16.

It is clear that *v.* 3 *repeats* the statement of the preceding verse, with a note of time.

The covenant with A.
XVII.

On this chapter, see pp. 56, 57, 62, 63, the table on pp. 64, 65, and inference (6) on p. 66.

Destruction of Sodom
XIX. 29.

Note the name *God* after *Jehovah* of preceding verses, *remembered*, see p. 77, and *cities of the Plain* as xiii. 12. The verse *repeats* in other words the substance of the preceding narrative. *LOT*[8] p. 15.

Birth of Isaac
XXI. 1 *b*, 2 *b*—5.

On cc. xx., xxi., xxvi., see pp. 98f.

The second clause of *v.* 1 *repeats* the statement of the first clause. Note *set time* in *v.* 2, as in xvii. 21.

Purchase of Machpelah
XXIII.

Death of Abraham
XXV. 7—11 *a*.

In *v.* 11 *b* 'and Isaac dwelt by Beer-lahai-roi' seems founded on xvi. 14 and xxiv. 62.

Generations of Ishmael
XXV. 12—17.

On 'These are the generations of,' see p. 59.

Generations of Isaac
XXV. 19, 20, 26 *b*.

The two incidents related in *vv.* 21—26 *a*, 27—34 are from JE.

Esau's wives
XXVI. 34, 35.

Jacob sent away
XXVII. 46—XXVIII. 9.

For remarks on xxviii. 10—xxxv. see pp. 101 f.

Jacob with Laban
XXIX. 24, 29.

Perhaps the clauses referring to the handmaids in xxx. 4 *a*, 9 *b* belong to P, and parts of 1 *a*, 22 *a*.

Jacob's return
XXXI. 18 *b*, XXXIII. 18 *b*.

Jacob at Shechem
XXXIV. 1, 2 *a*, 4, 6, 8—10, 13—18, 20—24, part of 25, 27—29.

The division of the sources in this chapter is in some places uncertain.

God blesses Jacob at Bethel
XXXV. 6 *a*, 9—13, 15, 22 *b*—29.

On *vv.* 9—13, see pp. 56, 67, and the table on pp. 65, 66.

Generations of Esau
XXXVI.

Based on P (esp. in *vv.* 6—8), but containing additions from other sources.

Generations of Jacob
XXXVII. 1, 2 *a*.

Joseph in Egypt
XLI. 46.
XLVI. 6—27

The commencement of the story of Joseph and his brethren is taken from P, but the rest is almost entirely from JE. The age of Joseph, and the genealogy, belong to P.

XLVII. 5, 6 *a*, 7—11, 27 *b*, 28.
XLVIII. 3—6, 7?
XLIX. 1 *a*, 28 *b*—33.
L. 12, 13.

On the variation between Heb. and LXX. in xlvii. 5, 6, see the commentary, and *LOT*[8] pp. 11, 17.

The reference to Machpelah in these chapters points to c. xxiii. (P).

EXODUS.

The children of Israel multiply
I. 1—5, 7, 13, 14.

For the connexion between *vv.* 1—5 and Gen. xlvi. 8 f. see the commentary.

On ii. 15—23 *a*, see pp. 105 f.; on the revelation of the name *Jehovah* in ch. iii., see p. 100; on parts of ch. iv., see p. 103.

God hears their cry, and takes knowledge of them
II. 23 *b*—25.

The Name JEHOVAH
VI. 2—8.

On vi. 2—8, see pp. 67 f.

Moses sent to Pharaoh
VI. 9—VII. 7.

Note the genealogies in this section; that of Levi is given most fully, because Moses and Aaron belong to that tribe.

Aaron's rod becomes a serpent
VII. 8—13.

Note the similarities, esp. those of expression, between this and the passages following.

The Plagues
VII. 19, 20 *a*, 21 *b*—22.
VIII. 5—7, 15 *b*—19.
IX. 8—12, XI. 9, 10.

On the composite character of the account of the plagues, see pp. 69, 104 and *LOT*[8] pp. 24—28.

The Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Cakes	
XII. 1—20, 28, 37 *a*, 40, 41, 43—51.	xii. 21—27 is part of a different account of the institution of the Passover, which stands to xii. 3—13 in the same relation that the regulations about *Maẓẓoth* in xiii. 3—10 stand to those in xii. 14—20. Dillmann, in *LOT*[8] p. 29.
First-born sanctified to God	
XIII. 1, 2.	
XIII. 20.	See p. 70. In *v.* 21, from 'and the LORD' to 'dry land[1]' is not from P, nor the last clause of *v.* 28.
Passage of the Red Sea	
XIV. 1—4, 8, 9, 15—18, 21—23, 26, 27 *a*, 28, 29, XV. 19.	This ch. should be compared with Num. xi. From 'Rephidim' in xvii. 1 *a*, to the end of ch. xviii. belongs to JE.
Quails and Manna	
XVI. 1—3, 6—24, 31—36.	
XVII. 1 *a*.	
Arrival at Sinai	
XIX. 1, 2 *a*.	With 'and there Israel...' in *v.* 2 *b* begins JE's account of the legislation at Sinai.
Moses goes up into the mount	
XXIV. 15—18 *a*.	Continuation of xix. 2 *a*, introducing P's account of the legislation.
and receives instructions about the tabernacle &c.	
XXV.—XXXI. 18 *a*.	Instructions about the tabernacle &c. The remainder of JE's account of the events at Sinai, is in cc. xxxii.—xxxiv., to which xxiv. 18 *b*

[1] Note that 'dry land' in *v.* 21 is different from 'dry ground' in *v.* 22; also that P seldom describes in detail the method of the Divine action as in this clause. In xv. 19 both A.V. and R.V. have 'dry land,' but it should be 'dry ground,' for the Heb. word is the same as in xiv. 16, 22. The affinity of xv. 19 with P is then more evident to the English reader.

Moses comes down from the mount. His face shines	(after 'cloud') and xxxi. 18*b* (after 'testimony') are an introduction.
XXXIV. 29—35.	
XXXV.—XL.	These cc. relate the carrying out of the instructions in cc. xxv.—xxxi. See pp. 70, 71.
LEVITICUS.	On the 'Law of Holiness' in cc. xvii.—xxvi., see pp. 111f., and App. V.
NUMBERS.	
The numbering of the people, and legislation	
I.—X. 28.	The remainder of P's account of the legislation at Sinai.
The mission of the spies	
XIII. 1—17*a*, 21, 25, 26*a*, 32.	On these cc. see pp. 85—97, where the grounds of the division are indicated.
XIV. 1[1], 2[1], 5—7, 10, 26—39[1].	
Laws concerning sacrifice, offerings, and fringes	
XV.	
The rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram	In Num. xvi., three incidents seem to be referred to:
XVI. 1*a*, 2*b*—11, 16—24, 27*a*, 32*b*, 35—50.	(1) a rising of Dathan and Abiram against Moses related in the portions not belonging to P;
Aaron's rod that budded	(2) a protest against the claims of the tribe of Levi (*vv.* 2*b*—7*a*, 18—24, 27*a*, 32*b*, 35, 41—50, c. xvii.), with which is combined
XVII.	

[1] In the main; *v.* 31 belongs to JE, and the source of *vv.* 32, 33 is uncertain.

(3) a protest against the exclusive claims of Aaron and his sons to the priesthood (*vv.* 7 *b*—11, 16, 17, 36—40). See the commentary, and *LOT*[8] pp. 64, 65.

The dues of the priests and Levites
XVIII.

On c. xviii. see pp. 155 f.

The ashes of the red heifer used for purifications
XIX.

The waters of Meribah
XX. 1*a*, 2, 3*b*, 4, 6—13.

The year is not specified in *v.* 1. In xxxiii. 37, Zin is the station before Mt Hor, reached in the 40th year. On Zin = Kadesh see p. 93.

Death of Aaron
XX. 22—29.

The continuation of *v.* 21 'Israel turned away from him' is 'to compass the land of Edom' (xxi. 4*b*). Cp. Deut. i. 40, ii. 1.

The Journey to Canaan
XXI. 4*a*, 10, 11.
XXII. 1.

The *vv.* from P in xxi., xxii. are part of P's itinerary, cf. xxxiii. 43—48. For reasons why the itinerary in xxi. 12—20 is assigned to JE see *LOT*[8] p. 66.

The zeal of Phinehas
XXV. 6—18.

Contrast 'Moab' in *v.* 1 with 'Midian' in *vv.* 6—18.

The second numbering and the law of inheritance
XXVI.—XXVII. 11.

Joshua appointed as successor to Moses
XXVII. 12—23.

Offerings for festivals and other occasions
XXVIII., XXIX.

Law of vows
XXX.
The war against Midian
XXXI.
Allotment of the country E. of Jordan
XXXII. 18, 19, 24—32.
Journeys of the children of Israel from Rameses to the plains of Moab
XXXIII.
The borders of the land, cities for the Levites, cities of refuge &c.
XXXIV.—XXXVI.

Traces of P are found in *vv.* 1—4 and in other parts of the chapter. For details see *LOT*[8] p. 69 and the commentary.

Remarks on c. xxxv. will be found on pp. 121 f. On the position of the legislation in cc. xxvi.—xxxvi., and its relation to Deut. see p. 119.

DEUTERONOMY.

I. 3.
XXXII. 48—52.

Clearly parallel to Num. xxvii. 12—14.

The death of Moses
XXXIV. 1 *a*, 5 *b*, 7—9.

All the sources seem to have contained accounts of Moses' death. See p. 186.

JOSHUA.

IV. 13, 15—17.

Only slight traces of P are found in cc. i.—xii. The narrative of JE has been expanded in the style and spirit of Deut. by an editor who is designated as D_2. See p. 184 and *LOT*[8] p. 104.

The encampment at Gilgal
IV. 19, V. 10—12.

Note the exact date in iv. 19.

VII. 1.

An introduction to the story of Achan by Rp. (Cf. p. 219, No. 31.)

The Gibeonites condemned to bondage
IX. 15 *b*, 17—21.

For 'princes of the congregation' see App. II, No. 28 *c*. In *v*. 27 'for the congregation and' is perhaps due to Rp, influenced by *vv*. 17—21.

On the 'towns of Jair' (Havvoth Jair, *v*. 30) see p. 42.

The inheritance of the two tribes and a half
XIII. 15—32.

The nine tribes and a half
XIV. 1—5.

The distribution of the land W. of Jordan according to P begins here. Some critics think that xviii. 1 should stand before xiv. 1—5. On xiv. 6—15 see p. 96, and on Caleb's exploit *v*. 14 see the note there.

The lot of Judah
XV. 1—13, 20—62.

Whether *v*. 13 belongs to P, or is an introduction by Rp to *vv*. 14—19 is doubtful. The addition of the names of eleven 'cities with their villages' by LXX. in *v*. 59 shews that the Heb. text is not complete.

The lot of the sons of Joseph
XVI. 4—8.

XVII. 1—4, 7, 9, 10 *a*.

The account of JE (which describes Joseph's lot as *one*) is combined with that of P (which assigns a lot to Manasseh, cp. xvi. 5—8 with xvii. 1). Parts of xvii. 1—4, 9—10 are from JE, see *LOT*[8] p. 110.

The remaining seven tribes receive their inheritance
XVIII. 1, 11—28.
XIX. 1—8, 10—46, 48, 51.

In xviii. 6, the Heb. word for 'describe' is 'write.' Cp. 7 *a* with xiii. 14, 33, Deut. xviii. 1, 2.

Cities of refuge appointed
XX. 1—3, 6*a*, 7—9.

The non-P portions, which are Deuteronomic in character, are due to a late revision; they are not in the LXX. See *LOT*[8] p. 112. On the accounts in Num. xxxv. and Deut. xix., see pp. 121 f.

The Levitical cities
XXI. 1—42.

Cp. Num. xxxv. 1—8. *Vv.* 43—45 form the close of the Deuteronomic account of the partition.

The altar erected by the two tribes and a half
XXII. 9—34.

The work of a writer who shews marked affinities with P, but also uses expressions not found in P.

APPENDIX II.

Characteristics of the Priestly Code.

Attention has been directed on pp. 54—72 to the style and phraseology of P. Further details have been given in the analysis of the Flood narrative (pp. 74—81), and in the notices of duplicate accounts (pp. 81—97). A list of the most characteristic words and expressions occurring in P is given in the following table (cp. *LOT*[8] pp. 131 ff.). It is not exhaustive, but sufficiently full, it is hoped, to assist the reader in appreciating the extent and variety of the evidence for the separation of P from the rest of the Hexateuch. It also shews that the distinctive use of *Elohim*—which is sometimes spoken of as if it were the *sole* basis of the separation of P—is only a very small part of the whole evidence, and adds weight to the remarks on p. 50 with reference to this point.

One characteristic will appear on consulting this list. It may be described as *the depth of the colouring* in P. On comparing the passages in the left-hand column of pp. 64, 65 with the short list of expressions on p. 56, it will be seen that *two or more* items of that list occur in each passage. Other passages of P, when compared with this list, exhibit the same phenomenon. To use one of P's own expressions, his text 'swarms' with characteristics, or, to go back to the first metaphor, the *colour* may be easily recognized. The reader may easily verify this statement by examining any of the passages assigned to P in Appendix I. He will generally find in the following list *cumulative* evidence in support of the assignment.

(1) *The use of the Divine Names.*

(*a*) *Elohim.* In the examination of Exod. vi. 2—8 on p. 67, a reason has been suggested for the use of *Elohim* by P in the section Gen. i.—Exod. vi. See also pp. 29, 31, 66, 71, 75.

(*b*) *El Shaddai, God Almighty*: Gen. xvii. 1; xxviii. 3; xxxv. 11; xlviii. 3; Exod. vi. 3. These passages are assigned to P, not only because this name occurs in them, but on other grounds which are indicated on p. 67, and also in Nos. 11, 14. The name also occurs in Gen. xliii. 14, and must be read (with LXX.) for *Almighty* alone in xlix. 25 (see Driver, *Genesis, ad loc.*).

(*c*) *Jehovah.* This name is not used by P in Gen. i.—Exod. vi., but after the revelation of the name *Jehovah* recorded in Exod. vi. P uses *Jehovah* freely. See p. 68. The occurrence of this name in Gen. xvii. 1; xxi. 1 *b* is due to transcriptional error. Cf. *LOT*[8] p. 21, where Driver points out that these *isolated* occurrences of the name cannot justly be regarded as subversive of an argument resting on an abundance of criteria extending throughout the Pentateuch.

(2) *Names of Places.*

(*a*) *Kiriath-arba* (*Kirjath* A.V.). In Josh. xiv. 15=Judg. i. 10 (JE) it is said that the ancient name of Hebron was Kiriath-arba; in P this name is given with the remark 'the same is Hebron'; Gen. xxiii. 2; xxxv. 27; Josh. xv. 13, 54; xx. 7; xxi. 11. In Gen. xxxv. 27; Josh. xv. 13; xxi. 11 A.V. has *the city of Arba(h)*. See also Neh. xi. 25.

(*b*) *Machpelah*: *the children of Heth*: *Ephron the Hittite.* These three expressions occur several times in Gen. xxiii., where the purchase of Machpelah is recorded, and in passages referring to that transaction: xxv. 9, 10; xlix. 29—32; l. 13†. Only in these passages are the Hittites called 'children of Heth,' and represented as settled in the south of Palestine.

(*c*) *Paddan-aram*: Gen. xxv. 20; xxviii. 2, 5, 6, 7; xxxi. 18; xxxiii. 18; xxxv. 9, 26; xlvi. 15; xlviii. 7 (*Paddan* only)†. Contrast *Aram-naharaim* (Aram of the two rivers) in Gen. xxiv. 10 (J); Deut. xxiii. 4; Judg. iii. 8 (*Mesopotamia*, EVV.).

(*d*) *Wilderness of Sin* (סִין): Exod. xvi. 1; xvii. 1; Num. xxxiii. 11, 12†.

Wilderness of Zin (צִין): Num. xiii. 21; xx. 1; xxvii. 14; xxxiii. 36; xxxiv. 3; Deut. xxxii. 51; Josh. xv. 1.

Zin: Num. xxxiv. 4; Josh. xv. 3†.

(*e*) *The plains* (*steppes*) *of Moab*: Num. xxii. 1; xxvi. 3, 63; xxxi. 12; xxxiii. 48—50; xxxv. 1; xxxvi. 13; Deut. xxxiv. 1, 8; Josh. xiii. 32†. In Num. xxii. 1 and Josh. xiii. 32 the position is described as *beyond the Jordan at* (Heb. *of*) *Jericho*, but in Num. xxii. 1 A.V. has *on this side Jordan by Jericho*; the Heb. is the same in both. The other places in Num. have *by the Jordan at Jericho*. In Josh. iv. 13, v. 10 the corresponding position W. of the Jordan is called *the plains of Jericho*.

(3) *Kind* (*mîn*).

Always used with prep. ל and possessive pron. e.g. *after its* (*his* or *her* A.V.) *kind*. It occurs 10 times in Gen. i. 11—25; 7 times in the Flood narrative, vi. 20; vii. 14; 4 times in the list of unclean birds, Lev. xi. 13—19 and Deut. xiv. 12—18; also Lev. xi. 22, 29. On the relation of Deut. xiv. to Lev. xi., see p. 190. Elsewhere only Ezek. xlvii. 10†.

In Gen. viii. 19 the Heb. word translated *kinds* A.V. is different: lit. *families* (so R.V.).

(4) *Swarm* and *swarming things*.

(*a*) *To swarm* (*shâraẓ*): Gen. i. 20, 21; vii. 21; viii. 17; Lev. xi. 29, 41, 42, 43, 46; Ezek. xlvii. 9. Used figuratively of men, Gen. ix. 7; Exod. i. 7. Once in JE, Exod. viii. 3 (of the frogs: cf. Ps. cv. 30)†.

(*b*) *Swarming things* (*shéreẓ*): Gen. i. 20; vii. 21; Lev. v. 2; xi. 10, 20, 21, 23, 29, 31, 41—44; xxii. 5; Deut. xiv. 19 = Lev. xi. 20†. See No. 3.

(5) With the words in (4) may be compared: *Creep* and *creeping things*, which are favourite expressions of P, though found occasionally in other writers.

(*a*) *To creep* (*rāmas*): Gen. i. 26; vii. 14; viii. 17; Ezek. xxxviii. 20 (with the corresponding noun); Gen. i. 21, 28, 30; vii. 8, 21; viii. 19 (*moveth* R.V.); ix. 2 and Lev. xx. 25 (*teemeth* R.V.); Lev. xi. 44, 46 (*moveth*, R.V. in both *vv.*); Deut. iv. 18; Ps. lxix. 34 (*moveth* [in the waters]); civ. 20.

(*b*) *Creeping things* (*rémes*): reptiles, as distinguished from beasts, fowl, and fishes: Gen. i. 24, 25, 26; vi. 7, 20; vii. 14, 23; viii. 17, 19:

also 1 Kings v. 13; Hos. ii. 20; Hab. i. 14; Ezek. viii. 10; xxxviii. 20; Ps. cxlviii. 10; of things that move in the sea Ps. civ. 25; of all moving animals Gen. ix. 3. The passages in Gen. all belong to P.

N.B. The distinction between 'swarming things,' creatures that move in swarms, and 'creeping things,' creatures that creep or glide along the ground, or through the water without feet, or with very small feet, has not been uniformly observed in the English versions, occasioning, especially in Lev. xi., great confusion to the English reader. In the following passages 'creep' and 'creeping things' occur where the rendering should be 'swarm' or 'swarming things': Gen. vii. 21; Lev. v. 2; xi. 20, 21, 23, 29, 31, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46; xxii. 5; Deut. xiv. 19. In Lev. xi. 10 *swarm* should stand for *move*, and in Ezek. xlvii. 9, *move* A.V. should be *swarm*, as R.V. See Art. 'Creeping things' in *DB* i. 518.

(6) *Fruitful and multiply, to be, or to make* (פרה ורבה in Ḳal and Hiphil).

Gen. i. 22, 28; viii. 17; ix. 1, 7; xvii. 20 (cp. *vv.* 2, 6); xxviii. 3; xxxv. 11; xlvii. 27; xlviii. 4; Exod. i. 7; Lev. xxvi. 9. Also Jer. xxiii. 3; and in inverted order iii. 16; Ezek. xxxvi. 11†. See remarks on pp. 54 f., 62 f., the table on pp. 64, 65, and further contrasts in Gen. xvi. 10; xxxii. 12; Exod. xxxii. 13; Josh. xxiv. 3. Also Deut. i. 10; x. 22; xxviii. 62.

(7) *Food* (*'oklah*), in A.V. *meat*, which in R.V. is generally changed to *food*, because 'meat' which, when A.V. was made, denoted food in general—as it does still in 'sweetmeat'—is now restricted to flesh, and this limited meaning is not intended in the passages here cited. Cp. p. 149, note.

With prefix ל, *for*: Gen. i. 29, 30 (*meat*); vi. 21 (*food*); ix. 3 (*food* R.V. *meat* A.V.); Exod. xvi. 15 (*to eat*); Lev. xi. 39 (*of which ye may eat*, lit. which is to you *for food*); xxv. 6 (*food* R.V. *meat* A.V.). In Ezek. the expression is used of that which is cast into the fire, and is translated in xv. 4, 6, xxi. 32 *fuel*[1], in xxiii. 37 *to be devoured* R.V., *to devour* them A.V.; in other places of men given as a prey to birds and beasts, xxix. 5; xxxiv. 5, 8, 10 (*meat*); xxxv. 12 *to devour*; xxxix. 4 *to be devoured*†. In Gen. xlvii. 24, where *for food* occurs twice, in

[1] The usage in these passages is to be explained by the fact that Heb. often uses the verb 'to *eat*' of fire devouring.

the Heb. the infin. of the verb is used. In Jer. xii. 9 the infin. is also used, and is translated *to devour*.

(8) *Generations* (*tōl*^{e}*dōth*).

(*a*) On the phrase *These are the generations of*... see pp. 58 f. In addition to the passages there cited, the phrase occurs Num. iii. 1 (P); Ruth iv. 18; 1 Chron. i. 29 (from Gen. xxv. 12).

(*b*) *According to their gen.* (with prep. ל): Gen. x. 32; xxv. 13; Exod. vi. 16, 19; 1 Chron. v. 7; vii. 2, 4, 9; viii. 28; ix. 9, 34; xxvi. 31. Cf. Nos. 16, 18, 27.

(*c*) Exod. xxviii. 10; and of the 12 tribes in Num. i. 20—42 (all P)†. For another Heb. word translated *generations* see No. 16.

(9) *Hundred* (*m*^{e}*'ăth*, the constr. state, instead of *mē'āh*, the more usual form before substantives).

Gen. v. 3, 6, 18, 25, 28; vii. 34; viii. 3; xi. 10, 25; xxi. 5; xxv. 7, 17; xxxv. 28; xlvii. 9, 28; Exod. vi. 16, 18, 20; xxxviii. 25, 27 (3 t); Num. ii. 9, 16, 24, 31; xxxiii. 39. Elsewhere only 2 Chron. xxv. 9 (Ḳ^{e}rê); Est. i. 4. The readings in Eccl. viii. 12 and Neh. v. 11 are prob. corrupt; see BDB 548, and M^{c}Neile, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 78, 148. P uses *mē'āh* in such cases only twice, Gen. xvii. 17; xxiii. 1.

(10) *To die, expire* (*gāvă'*). Not the usual word for 'die.'

Gen. vi. 17; vii. 21; xxv. 8, 17; xxxv. 29; xlix. 33; Num. xvii. 12; xx. 3, 29; Josh. xxii. 20. See p. 78; the poetical passages are Zech. xiii. 8; Ps. lxxxviii. 15; civ. 29; Lam. i. 19, and 8 times in Job†.

(11) Personal pronouns with prepositions used redundantly.

(*a*) *With thee* (*him* &c.): Gen. vi. 18 (thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives *with thee*) presents a type of sentence which recurs frequently: vii. 7, 13; viii. 16, 18; ix. 8 (note the *repetition of phrases* referred to on pp. 57, 69); xxviii. 4; xlvi. 6, 7; Exod. xxviii. 1, 41; twice in xxix. 21 and the parallel passage in Lev. viii. 30; Lev. viii. 2; x. 9, 14, 15; xxv. 41, 54 (these verses from H have the prep. עִם, elsewhere it is אֵת); Num. xviii. 1, 2, 7, 11, 19 (twice). Similarly

(*b*) *After thee* (*him* &c.) following 'seed': Gen. ix. 9; xvii. 7—10, 19; xxxv. 12; xlviii. 4; Exod. xxviii. 43; Num. xxv. 13.

(12) *This selfsame day*, lit. *in the bone of this day.*

Gen. vii. 13; xvii. 23, 26; Exod. xii. 17, 41, 51; Lev. xxiii. 14, 21, 28, 29, 30; Deut. xxxii. 48; Josh. v. 11. Josh. x. 27 is prob. from the redactor. Outside the Hex. only in Ezek. ii. 3; xxiv. 2; xl. 1†.

(13) *Everlasting*, applied especially to ideas or institutions of the theocracy (in the Heb. lit. 'a covenant, statute, &c., *of eternity*' ['ōlām]). This usage is not peculiar to P; but its *frequency*, in the combinations quoted, is a *characteristic* of P.

(*a*) *covenant*: Gen. ix. 16; xvii. 7, 13, 19; Exod. xxxi. 16; Lev. xxiv. 8; Num. xviii. 19.

(*b*) *ordinance, statute, due*: Exod. xii. 14, 17; xxvii. 21; xxviii. 43; xxix. 9, 28; xxx. 21; Lev. iii. 17; vi. 18, 22; vii. 34, 36; x. 9, 15; xvi. 29, 31, 34; xvii. 7; xxiii. 14, 21, 31, 41; xxiv. 3, 9; Num. x. 8; xv. 15; xviii. 8, 11, 19, 23; xix. 10, 21. *Throughout your generations* is added in many of these passages.

(*c*) *possession*: Gen. xvii. 8; xlviii. 4; Lev. xxv. 34.

(*d*) *priesthood*: Exod. xl. 15; Num. xxv. 13.

(*e*) *generations*, once in Gen. ix. 12 'for perpetual generations.'

(14) The verb to *sojourn*, and its cognates:

(*a*) *Sojournings, land of thy* (*their*): applied to the land of Canaan as '*sojourned*' in before it was possessed; A.V. translates, *the land wherein thou art a* (*they were*) *stranger*(*s*) Gen. xvii. 8; xxviii. 4; xxxvi. 7; xxxvii. 1; Exod. vi. 4; Ezek. xx. 38 (but not with reference to the *early* sojournings). Cp. Gen. xlvii. 9 *days of my* (*their*) *pilgrimage* (R.V. marg. *sojournings*); Ps. cxix. 54 *house of my pilgrimage* (Heb. *sojournings*). In Ps. lv. 15, *in their dwelling*(*s*), Job xviii. 19, *where he sojourned* (*in his dwellings*, A.V.) the word *sojournings* occurs, but without *land*, and without reference to the early history†. The word is derived from the Heb. verb to *sojourn*; and the corresponding noun (*gēr*, Heb.) denotes a foreigner resident in Israel under protection. Much confusion is caused to the English reader by the translation of this word as '*stranger*' in both A.V. and R.V. See *DB*, Art. Stranger, vol. iv. p. 623. The *gēr* is often mentioned in JE and D, but the following expressions are found only in P and Ezek. ('sojourner' is used instead of the 'stranger' of A.V. and R.V.).

(*b*) *The sojourner that sojourneth* (*haggēr haggār*, Heb.) *among you* (*them*), generally associated with *'ezrāḥ* (*homeborn, born in the land*):

Exod. xii. 49; Lev. xvi. 29; xvii. 15; xviii. 26; xix. 34 (*with you*); Num. xv. 15, 16 (with slight difference), 29. The comparison is sometimes with *the house* (*children*) *of Israel*, Lev. xvii. 8, 10, 12, 13; xx. 2; Num. xv. 26, 29; xix. 10; xxxv. 15; Josh. xx. 9. Cp. Ezek. xiv. 7; xlvii. 22, 23. Also Exod. xii. 19—48; Lev. xix. 33; Num. ix. 14; xv. 14. The passages cited above, which enjoin equality of privilege and obligation, both for the homeborn (the native Israelite) and the stranger (the foreigner resident under his protection), are peculiar to P and Ezek.

(*c*) *Sojourner* or *settler*. Another Heb. word (*tōshāb*) is translated 'sojourner': Gen. xxiii. 4; Exod. xii. 45; Lev. xxii. 10; xxv. 6—47; Num. xxxv. 15†. In 1 Kings xvii. 1 for 'sojourners (*inhabitants* A.V.) of Gilead,' read, in accordance with LXX., *Tishbeh of Gilead*, and see Burney, *Notes on* 1, 2 *Kings*, on the passage, p. 216.

The words of Gen. xxiii. 4 seem to have been in the mind of the Psalmist in Ps. xxxix. 12 (referred to in 1 Chron. xxix. 15) and Ps. cxix. 54. The idea is more fully expressed in the N.T. Heb. xi. 9, 10, 13—16; and referred to in Eph. ii. 19, 1 Pet. i. 1; ii. 11.

The phrase 'land of sojournings' seems based on a knowledge of the position held by the '*ger*' or 'sojourner' among the children of Israel. It illustrates the past history from the present, and is an instance of that *didactic* treatment of the patriarchal narrative which marks a writer far removed in time from the events which he describes. See remarks on P's style at the end of this list, p. 224. The similarity in thought and expression between P and Ezek., of which instances are noted here, points to the same conclusion.

(15) *And* [*Noah*] *did* (it); *according to* &c.

See p. 58: this type of sentence recurs Exod. vii. 6; xii. 28, 50; xxxix. 32; xl. 16; Num. i. 54; ii. 34; viii. 20; xvii. 11: expanded in Exod. xxxix. 43; Num. v. 4; ix. 5. The characteristic form of the Heb. is disguised in EVV.

(16) *Throughout your* (*their*) *generations* with Heb. prep. ל (A.V. has generally, *in*, often, *throughout*, and sometimes, *for*, *unto*, *among*).

Gen. xvii. 7, 9, 12; Exod. xii. 14[t], 17; xvi. 32, 33 *for* EVV. xxvii. 21 (*unto* A.V.); xxix. 42; xxx. 8, 10, 21, 31; xxxi. 13, 16; xl. 15 (in these four chapters *throughout* in both versions); Lev. iii. 17

(*for* A.V.); vi. 18; vii. 36[t]; x. 9[t]; xvii. 7[t]; xxi. 17; xxii. 3 (*among* A.V.); xxiii. 14[t], 21[t], 31[t], 41 (*in* E.V.); xxv. 30[t] (*his*); Num. ix. 10 (*of* E.V., *posterity* A.V.); x. 8[t]; xv. 14, 15, 21, 23 (*among* A.V.) 38[t]; xviii. 23[t]; xxxv. 29[t]†.

The verses marked with (*t*) have *throughout* in A.V. as well as R.V. The comparison of A.V. with R.V. shews that though R.V. is not always uniform in its renderings, it is more exact than A.V.

Contrast Gen. vi. 9 (P) *in his generations* with the sing. in vii. 1 *in this generation* (J).

(17) *Dwellings or habitations, in all your.*

Exod. xii. 20; xxxv. 3; Lev. iii. 17; vii. 26; xxiii. 3, 14*, 21*, 31*; Num. xxxv. 29*; Ezek. vi. 6, 14. When, as in the verses marked with an asterisk*, this expression is combined with that in No. 16 *throughout your generations in all your dwellings*, illustration is afforded of that fulness of expression, after the manner of a legal document, which is a characteristic of P.

(18) *Families, after your (their).*

Gen. viii. 19; x. 5, 20, 31; xxxvi. 40; Exod. vi. 17, 25; Num. i. (13 times); ii. 34; iii. and iv. (כ֫5t); xxvi. (16t); xxxiii. 54; Josh. xiii. (4t); xv. 1, 12, 20; xvi. 5, 8; xvii. 2; xviii. 11, 20, 28; xix. (12t); xxi. 7, 33, 40.

This word illustrates the remarks in the note on p. 55. The word for 'family' (*mishpāḥah*) occurs in all the sources (Gen. x. 18; xxiv. 38, 40; Deut. xxix. 18; Josh. vii. 14, 17). It is also found in combination with the prep. ל in Exod. xii. 21; Num. xi. 10 (both JE). 'It is the *frequency* of the combination which causes it to be characteristic of a particular author.' *LOT*[8] p. 132 note.

(19) *Exceedingly (bĕmᵉ'ōdh mᵉ'ōdh).*

An unusual expression, used with a verb, Gen. xvii. 2, 6, 20; Exod. i. 7; Ezek. xvi. 13; with an adj. Ezek. ix. 9†.

Mᵉ'ōdh is duplicated without the prep. ב in Gen. vii. 19; Num. xiv. 7 (both P); Gen. xxx. 43 (J); 1 Kings vii. 47; 2 Kings x. 4; Ezek. xxxvii. 10†. In these passages it is simply a duplicated adverb, but in this expression it is used first with the prep. ב as a noun and then as an adj. It may be rendered in English by 'in very veriness,' which partly illustrates the peculiarity of the expression. But cf. Ges.-K. § 133 k.

(20) *Substance* (*r'kūsh*).

Gen. xii. 5; xiii. 6; xxxi. 18; xxxvi. 7; xlvi. 6; Num. xvi. 32; xxxv. 3.

It also occurs in Gen. xiv. 11—21 (5 times); xv. 14; and in Chron. Ezr. Dan. (15 times)†.

The cognate verb *to get* is found only in Gen. xii. 5; xxxi. 18; xxxvi. 6; xlvi. 6†.

(21) *All of, as regards* (לכל).

Gen. ix. 10; xxiii. 10; Exod. xiv. 28; xxvii. 3, 19; xxviii. 38; xxxvi. 1; Lev. v. 3; xi. 26, 42; xvi. 16, 21; xxii. 18; Num. iv. 27, 31, 32; v. 9; xviii. 4, 8, 9; Ezek. xliv. 9. 'Probably a juristic use. Occasionally elsewhere, esp. in Chron.' *LOT*[8] p. 132.

(22) *Soul* (*néphesh*), in the sense of *person*.

Gen. xii. 5; xxxvi. 6 (*persons* A.V.); in the list of Jacob's descendants in xlvi. 6—27 (6 times) and Exod. i. 5; xii. 4, 15, 16 (*man* EVV.), 19; xvi. 16 (*persons* EVV.); Lev. ii. 1 (*any* A.V., *anyone* R.V.); iv. 2 (*any one* R.V.); 27 (*any one* EVV.); v. 1, 2 (*any one* R.V.); and nearly 100 times in the rest of Hex. Cp. Deut. x. 22; Gen. xiv. 21 (*persons* in EVV. of both). Of a dead body: Lev. xix. 28; xxi. 1, 11; xxii. 4; Num. v. 2; vi. 6; ix. 6, 10.

(23) *Between the two evenings*.

Exod. xii. 6; xvi. 12; xxix. 39, 41; xxx. 8; Lev. xxiii. 5; Num. ix. 3, 5, 11; xxviii. 4, 8†. A technical expression, translated *at even*; but the exact rendering is found in the marg. of R.V. and A.V. Contrast Deut. xvi. 5; Josh. v. 10.

(24) *Judgements* (*sh'phāṭim*, the more common word is *mishpāṭim*).

Exod. vi. 6; vii. 4; xii. 12; Num. xxxiii. 4; Ezek. v. 10, 15; xi. 9; xiv. 21; xxv. 11; xxviii. 22, 26; xxx. 14, 19 (all of God's judgements); xvi. 14 (of men); 2 Chron. xxiv. 24 (of the Syrians); Prov. xix. 29 (alternative renderings in BDB 1048 *a*)†.

(25) *Peoples*[1] (*'ammim*) plural in the sense of *kinsfolk*.

[1] Properly, as Arabic shews, *father's kinsmen*, see Driver on Gen. xvii. 14, pp. 187, 188. This explains the *plural* in Heb. In A.V. and R.V. the word is confused with the ordinary Heb. word for 'people,' but though we may speak of a man's 'people,' we cannot speak of his

(*a*) *That soul* (*man*) *shall be cut off from his people*: Gen. xvii. 14; xxx. 33, 38; xxxi. 14; Lev. vii. 20, 21, 25, 27; xvii. 9; xix. 8; xxiii. 29; Num. ix. 13. The noun is *singular* in Lev. xvii. 4, 10; xviii. 29; xx. 3, 5, 6, 18; xxiii. 30; Num. xv. 30; here (as the text stands) the rendering 'people' is right; the verb is *active* (*I will cut him off*...) in Lev. xvii. 10; xx. 3, 5, 6; Ezek. xiv 8; xxiii. 30 (*destroy*)†. Observe that xxiii. 29 differs in *both* respects from the following verse, and that the verbs also are different in the two verses.

(*b*) *Gathered unto his people*: Gen. xxv. 8, 17; xxxv. 29; xlix. 29 (people in *sing.*) 33; Num. xx. 24, 26 (*unto his people* not in Heb. text), xxvii. 13; xxxi. 2; Deut. xxxii. 50†.

(*c*) Lev. xix. 16; xxi. 1, 4, 14, 15, Ezek. xviii. 18: perhaps Judg. v. 14; Hos. x. 14†.

(26) *Hosts* (*armies* A.V.).

Exod. vi. 26; vii. 4; xii. 17, 41, 51; Num. i. 3, 52; xxxiii. 1. In Num. ii. and x. the disposition of the tribes on the march is described; the four camps are arranged according to *their hosts* (*armies* A.V., except in x. 25, for the camp of Dan), and for each tribe of a camp, the name of the *prince* (*captain* A.V.) '*over his host*' is mentioned. The word for '*host*' occurs 24 times in the sing., and 11 times in the plural (the word seems to have fallen out from ii. 31). The reader of A.V., in consequence of the rendering '*armies*,' would not notice that the same Heb. word occurs throughout these chapters. In Num. xxxi 4—6, 32, 36 the sing. 'host' is translated (in both R.V. and A.V.) '*war*,' in xxxi. 27, 28 *battle*, and in xxxii. 27 *armed for war*. Cp. Deut. xxiv. 5. *Captains of hosts* (*armies* A.V.) are also mentioned in Deut. xx. 9; but the writer is there referring to the future organization of the army in war; and the expression does not imply acquaintance on his part with the detailed arrangements of Num. ii. and x. In Exod. xii. 41, Num. i. 52 A.V. translates '*hosts*.'

(27) *Head* (*gulgōleth*, *a skull*) used with the Heb. prep. ל to denote persons.

In Exod. xvi. 16 and xxxviii. 26 translated *a head* R.V., *for every man* A.V. In other places both versions render *by their polls*, *by the*

'peoples.' Where the plural occurs in Heb., *father's kin*, or *kinsmen* should be read for 'people.'

poll. Num. i. 2, 18, 20, 22; iii. 47 and in 1 Chron. xxiii. 3, 24. All places where the word is so applied are given here. It occurs elsewhere, e.g. Judg. ix. 53 in its ordinary sense, *skull.*

(28) *Congregation* (*'ēdāh*), a word used about 120 times in Exod. xii. 3—Josh. xxii. 30 to denote the children of Israel. They are called the '*Congregation of the* LORD' in Num. xxvii. 17; xxxi. 16; Josh. xxii. 16, 17. The word occurs in the following phrases:

(*a*) [*All*] *the* [*whole*] *C. of Israel*: Exod. xii. 3+3t; Lev. iv. 13; Num. xvi. 9; xxxii. 4; Josh. xxii. 18, 20.

(*b*) [*All*] *the* [*whole*] *C. of the children* (Heb. *sons*) *of Israel*: Exod. xvi. 1, 2, 9, 10; xvii. 1; xxxv. 1, 4, 20; Lev. xvi. 5; xix. 2; Num. i. 2, 53; viii. 9, 20; xiii. 26; xiv. 5, 7; xv. 25, 26; xvi. 41; xix. 9; xxvi. 2; xxvii. 20 (cf. ver. 21); xxxi. 12; Josh. xviii. 1; xxii. 12.

(*c*) [*All*] *the* [*rulers*] [*princes*] *of* (or *in*) *the C.*, Exod. xvi. 22; xxxiv. 31; Num. iv. 34; xvi. 2; xxxi. 13; xxxii. 2; Josh. ix. 15, 18; xxii. 30. *The princes and all the C.*, Num. xxvii. 2.

Otherwise in: Exod. xxxviii. 25; Lev. iv. 15; viii. 3—5; ix. 5; x. 2, 3, 16, 17; xxiv. 14, 16; Num. xiv. 1+5t; xvi. 3+9t; xx. 1+6t; xxv. 6, 7; xxvii. 2+5t; xxxi. 26, 27, 43; xxxv. 12, 24, 25; Josh. ix. 19, 21, 27; xx. 6, 9.

The word is used of the people who joined themselves to Korah (Num. xvi. 5, 6, 11, 16, 40; xxvi. 9, 10; xxvii. 3); in these verses both versions render *company*, except in xvi. 16, *congregation* R.V. It is not found in JE or D; in Judg. xiv. 8 it is used of a *swarm* of bees; of the children of Israel in xx. 1, xxi. 10, 13, 16; also in 1 Kings viii. 5 (‖ 2 Chron. v. 6), xii. 20, Hos. vii. 12. (On 1 Kings viii. 5 see p. 274.)

The non-occurrence of this word in JE and Sam., and its extreme rarity in Judg. and Kings (in Judg. and 1 Ki. viii. 5 it occurs in passages which there are the strongest reasons for believing to be later additions to the original narrative: see *LOT*[8] pp. 169 f.; Thatcher, *Century Bible*, p. 17) are extremely remarkable, and a strong corroboration of the critical conclusion that P belongs to an entirely different stratum of narrative from JE, Sam., Deut., and the earlier narratives of Judg. and Kings.

The Revisers have distinguished between this and another Heb. word (*ḳāhāl*) by using *assembly*, *assemble* for this latter word and its

cognate verb, and reserving *congregation* as the rendering of the other (see Preface to R.V.). The A.V. renderings of these words are not uniform. In Lev. viii. 4; Num. viii. 9; x. 2, 3; xvi. 2; xx. 8 (cf. *v.* 6) for *assembly* A.V. read *congregation* as R.V., and in Lev. iv. 14, 21; xvi. 17, 23; Num. x. 7; xv. 15; xvi. 3, 33, 47; xix. 20; xx. 4, 10, 12; Deut. xxiii. 1—8; xxxi. 30; Josh. viii. 35 for *congregation* A.V. read *assembly* as R.V. The A.V. renderings of the passages in Deut. do not make clear to the English reader that '*ēdāh* does not occur in that book.

(29) *Prince, or ruler* (*nāsī'*).

Besides the passages given in No. 28 (*c*), the same officials are mentioned in Exod. xxxv. 27; Lev. iv. 22; Num. i. 16, 44; iv. 46 (*chief* A.V.); x. 4; xiii. 2 (*ruler* A.V.); xvii. 2, 6; xxv. 14. A list of the heads of tribes is given in Num. i. It is repeated in c. ii. and c. vii. In A.V. they are called *captains* in ch. ii., and *princes* in c. vii., but the Heb. word is the same in both chapters. In ch. xxxiv. a prince is taken from each of the nine tribes who inherited W. of the Jordan, and in Josh. xxii. 14, ten princes are taken from the same tribes. The heads of the three divisions of the tribe of Levi are also called 'princes' but A.V. translates *chief* (Num. iii. 24, 30, 32, 35).

Applied to Abraham Gen. xxiii. 6; to rulers of other tribes or nations xvii. 20; xxv. 16 (Ishmael); xxxiv. 2; Num. xxv. 18; Josh. xiii. 21 (all P).

Used once in JE Exod. xxii. 27; not in Deut., Judg., Sam.; in 1 Kings viii. 1 (see p. 274); xi. 34.

In Ezek.: of the king, vii. 27; xii. 10, 12; xix. 1 (the sing. is here read by some commentators); xxi. 30; of a future ideal king, xxxiv. 24; xxxvii. 25; of the civil head of the restored community, xliv. 3 and in cc. xlv., xlvi., xlviii. (cf. Ezr. i. 8); of rulers, xxi. 17; xxii. 6; xlv. 8, 9; and of foreign princes, xxvi. 16; xxvii. 21; xxx. 13; xxxii. 29; xxxviii. 2, 3; xxxix. 1, 18.

(30) *Possession*, Heb. words signifying.

(*a*) *Possession* ('*ʾăḥuzzah*): *everlasting p.*, Gen. xvii. 8; xlviii. 4; Lev. xxv. 34; *land of your* (*their, his...*) *p.*, Gen. xxxvi. 43; Lev. xxv. 24; Num. xxxv. 28; *p. of a burying place*, Gen. xxiii. 4, 9, 20; xlix. 30; l. 13;—Gen. xlvii. 11; Lev. xiv. 34; xxv. 10—46; xxvii. 16—28; Num. xxvii. 4, 7; xxxii. 5, 22, 29, 32; xxxv. 2, 8, 28; Deut. xxxii. 49; Josh. xxi. 12, 41; xxii. 4, 9, 19. Elsewhere only in

Ezek. xliv. 28; xlv. 5—8; xlvi. 16, 18; xlviii. 20—22; and in Ps. ii. 8; 1 Chron. vii. 28; ix. 2 (=Neh. xi. 3); 2 Chron. xi. 34; xxxi. 1†. The cognate verb (*'āḥaz*) is found in Niph. *to get possession*, Gen. xxxiv. 10; xlvii. 27; Num. xxxii. 30; Josh. xxii. 9, 19†. Cp. the legal phrase *to be seized of.* 'All those his lands which he stood seized of' (Shakespeare).

Two other words for 'possession,' derived from the Heb. root *ḳanah*, *to get or purchase*, belong to the vocabulary of P.

(*b*) *A getting*, *ḳinyan*: Gen. xxxi. 18, cattle of *his getting*; xxxiv. 23 their cattle and *their substance*; xxxvi. 6 *his possessions* (*substance* A.V.); Lev. xxii. 11 *the purchase of* (*with* A.V.) his money (like *miḳnath késeph* in (*c*) following); Josh. xiv. 4 for their cattle and for *their substance*; Ezek. xxxviii. 12, 13 cattle and *goods*. In all these passages (except Lev. xxii. 11) note that 'cattle' (*miḳnĕh*) accompanies the word. Also in Ps. civ. 24 *riches*; cv. 21 *substance*; Prov. iv. 7 *with* (or *at the price of*) all *thou hast gotten* (*thy getting* A.V.).

(*c*) *Possession*, acquired by purchase (*miḳnah*): Gen. xxiii. 18; Lev. xxv. 16, 51; xxvii. 22; *bought with money* (*miḳnath késeph*), Gen. xvii. 12, 13, 23, 27; Exod. xii. 44. 'Prob. a legal term,' *LOT*[8] p. 133. Elsewhere only in Jer. xxxii. 11, 12, 14, 16, 'deed (evidence A.V.) of purchase,' cf. p. 144†.

(31) *To trespass* (*mā'ăl*) and the corresponding noun, generally translated *commit a trespass.*

Lev. v. 15; vi. 2; xxvi. 40; Num. v. 6, 12, 27; xxxi. 16 (on the reading, and suggested emendation see BDB s.v.); Deut. xxxii. 51 (cf. Num. xxvii. 14); Josh. vii. 1; xxii. 16, 20, 22, 31. A priestly word, chiefly late, BDB s.v., found in Ezek. xiv. 13; xv. 8; xvii. 20; xviii. 24; xx. 27; xxxix. 23, 26, in Chron. about 10t, in Ezr., Neh., and once Prov. xvi. 10†. From this list, it seems probable that Josh. vii. 1 is an introduction to the account of Achan, either written or expanded by Rp.

(32) *The glory of the* LORD.

An expression used by P to describe the Lord's appearance on several occasions (e.g. when the children of Israel murmured, on the completion of the tabernacle, &c.), Exod. xvi. 7 (? with reference to the gift of manna), 10; xxiv. 16, 17; xl. 34, 35; Lev. ix. 6, 23; Num. xiv. 10; xvi. 19, 42; xx. 6. The expression is found often in Ezekiel;—i. 28; iii. 12, 23; x. 4, 18; xi. 23; xliii. 4, 5; xliv. 4; and *the glory of the God of Israel* in viii. 4; ix. 3; x. 19; xi. 22; xliii. 2. Other refer-

ences to the glory of the Lord are found in Exod. xxxiii. 18, 22; Num. xiv. 21; Deut. v. 24; but the terms in which it is mentioned are unlike those of P, and it is not in any way associated with the tabernacle. Cp. also Exod. xxix. 43; 1 Kings viii. 11 [‖ 2 Chron. v. 14], and 2 Chron. vii. 1—3 [not in the parallel account of 1 Kings viii. Cp. *vv.* 62 f.].

The preceding list will illustrate and confirm the statement on p. 68 that P exhibits 'marked characteristics in respect of style and phraseology'; it will also supply reasons for the partition indicated in App. I. Some further remarks, supplementing the general description of P on pp. 68—71, may here be added.

(*a*) The chapters from Exod. xix. to Num. x. contain the accounts of the sojourn at Sinai, and form the central section of the Pentateuch. This Sinaitic section is approximately equal to the sections preceding (Gen. i.—Exod. xviii.) and following (Num. x. 29—Deut. xxxiv.). But in character it is different. Of the 59 chapters in this section all but nine belong to P, while P contributes far less than JE to the first, and less than JE and D together in the last section. The distinctive character of P appears on examining this central section. The nine chapters of JE exhibit a narrative in which laws are inserted (Exod. xx.—xxiii., xxxiv. 10—27), but the 50 chapters of P do not contain narratives with laws inserted, but laws with brief historical notices of the arrival at, and departure from, Sinai attached. The inauguration of the priesthood is recorded at length in Lev. viii.—x.; but the exact description of the ritual observed is evidently intended as a guide for future generations. The narrative contains legislation (cp. p. 71).

This distinctive character of P is equally marked in the remainder of the book Numbers. The portions which are assigned to P contain much more legislation than narrative; and the narrative which there is records events relating to the priesthood and ritual observance (cp. Num. xvi.—xviii., xx. 22—29).

Moreover, the legislation of P is different in character from that which is contained in the other sources. It refers almost exclusively to matters of worship and ceremonial observance. The civil element which is prominent in Exod. xxi.—xxiii. is not found in P; P's regulations are intended for 'the congregation,' or for the individual who brings his offering to the priest.

In its representation of the events occurring at Sinai, P differs from the other accounts. In Exod. xxiv. and xxxiv. reference is made to a 'covenant' concluded at Sinai. In Deut. three covenants are distinguished: that with the fathers, that made at Horeb based on the Decalogue, and that made by Moses with the children of Israel in the land of Moab. In P, no mention is made of a covenant entered into at Sinai. There is reference to a covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in Exod. vi. 2—8; but the laws which occupy so prominent a place in this source are not put forward as terms of a covenant.

According to P, there are two covenants: one with Noah, who represents all the families of the earth; the other with Abraham, who represents the chosen race. This latter covenant is to be an 'everlasting' one; all God's dealings with Israel are its fulfilment. Because He remembered His servant Abraham He brought forth His chosen with joy, and His people with gladness. Their inheritance was the covenant promise[1].

Hence certain differences of expression:

The tables on which the Ten Words were written are called 'tables of the covenant' (Deut. ix. 9, 11, 15); but in P they are called

The testimony (*'ēdūth*)[2]: Exod. xvi. 34. xxv. 16, 21, xxvii. 21,

[1] It may be noticed that although P does not use the word 'covenant' with reference to the Sinai legislation, a 'sign' is given. 'Ye shall keep my sabbaths' (Exod. xxxi. 12, 17). In this respect the manifestation at Sinai corresponds to the covenants with Noah and with Abraham (cp. Gen. ix. 12, xvii. 11).

[2] The Decalogue being so termed as a 'testimony' or witness of God's will for man.

xxx. 6, 36, xxxi. 7 (lit. in Heb. *the ark for the testimony*), xl. 20; Lev. xvi. 13; Num. xvii. 4, 10; and

The tables of the testimony: Exod. xxxi. 18, xxxiv. 29 (compare with *v.* 28).

The ark is frequently called 'the ark of the covenant' in JE and D (Num. x. 33, xiv. 44; Deut. x. 8, xxxi. 9, 25; Josh. iii. 3+7 times, iv. 7, 18, vi. 8, viii. 33); but in P

The ark of the testimony: Exod. xxv. 22, xxvi. 33, xxx. 6, 26, xxxix. 35, xl. 3, 5, 21; Num. iv. 5, vii. 89; Josh. iv. 16.

The following combinations also occur[1]:

The tent of the testimony: Num. ix. 15, xvii. 7, 8, xviii. 2; A.V. has *the tabernacle of witness* except in the first passage.

The tabernacle of the testimony (*mishkan hā'ēdūth*): Exod. xxxviii. 21; Num. i. 50, 53, x. 11.

The veil (*vail* A.V.) *of the testimony*: Lev. xxiv. 3.

The difference between P and the other sources in respect of subject-matter, representation of events, and consequent variety of expression, which can be traced in the Sinaitic section, is equally marked in the later legislation, assigned to the field or steppes of Moab. In P, additional laws are given through Moses to the children of Israel in Num. xxvii.—xxxvi. According to D, Moses declares laws which he had already received at Horeb, with earnest exhortations to observe them diligently. And although the Deuteronomic legislation treats at some length of worship at 'the place which the Lord thy God shall choose,' yet the contrast between D and P in their treatment of kindred subjects is evident on comparison. These points have already been discussed on pp. 117—122, 132 f., 154—157.

(*b*) The character of P's contribution towards the first section (Gen. i.—Exod. xviii.) appears on examining the passages in Appendix I. Beyond genealogies, and a chronicle of birth, marriage, and death, this document contains little more

[1] This persistent use of 'testimony' and avoidance of 'covenant' by P makes it almost certain that the occurrence of 'tables of the testimony' in Exod. xxxii. 15 (JE) is due to the redactor (Rp).

than two chapters (Gen. xvii. and xxiii.) for the period from Abraham to Moses. Gen. xvii. insists on the observance of circumcision. It is a 'token' (*'ôth*) of the covenant which is of perpetual obligation (an everlasting covenant, see No. 13). Gen. xxiii. records the purchase by Abraham of a field for the burial of his wife Sarah, where afterwards (xxv. 9) he himself was buried (see No. 2 *b*). On the eve of the departure from Egypt, full instructions are given for the celebration of the Passover (Exod. xii.). The legal and ritual elements, which are prominent in the Sinaitic section and in the remainder of the book Numbers, are also prominent in this brief treatment of the early period. Existing institutions are traced back to their origins; to the body of legislation in Exod. xxv.—Num. xxxvi. the historical abstract, legal in character, forms an appropriate introduction.

In P's brief survey of pre-Mosaic times, there is no room for delineation of character. God appears to the patriarchs as *El Shaddai*; they receive His commands and obey them. The pictures of home life, the motives, sometimes unworthy, which prompted action, are passed over in P. Isaac's words to Jacob on sending him away to Laban (Gen. xxviii. 1—5), compared with the words of Rebekah (xxvii. 43—45), illustrate P's treatment of the history. Different motives are assigned for Jacob's journey: in JE Rebekah urges Jacob to *flee*, in order that he may escape Esau's vengeance; in P Isaac sends him on a *visit* to Laban, in order that he may take a wife of his own kindred. Again, JE traces at length the rivalry between Jacob and Esau, and their subsequent meeting and reconciliation. But P only records their birth, Esau's migration to Edom, and their presence together at the burial of their father Isaac, with names of wives and children. The migration of Jacob and his sons to Egypt is an essential part of the story, and P relates this, and the death of Jacob, but in few words, compared with the narrative in other sources.

This brevity of the patriarchal, in strong contrast with the fulness of the Sinaitic record, is part of P's ideal treatment of the history. His object is to trace the Divine action in bringing

the nation to maturity. The patriarchs are regarded as ancestors of the nation, through whom God's purpose was fulfilling itself. Incidents in their family life are of subordinate interest. For this writer the fulness of time is at Sinai, and he hastens to record at length the instruction which was there imparted to the children of Israel.

When this document is considered as a whole, it will be *felt* that it is *written with a purpose*. The hand of the teacher may be recognized; and the inference seems warranted, that historical records lie at the base of P's didactic treatment. If that document for the period before Moses is in the main a list of names and genealogies, with occasional reference to selected events, some outline of the history, familiar both to the writer and his readers, seems implied. At many points of P's brief retrospect some acquaintance with facts, other than that which P supplies, is assumed. And a compendium follows after, it does not precede, the more complete account: a writer who arranges his material in a systematic manner, and uses it for the purpose of religious education, is separated by an interval from the events which he describes, and is dependent upon his predecessors. Alike in his brevity and his fulness, P bears witness that he has entered into other men's labours.

Another characteristic of P may be noted which points in the same direction: his *representation of the Divine Being*.

(*a*) The exclusive use of *Elohim* for the period before Moses has been described on pp. 66—68. Here it may be noted that the orderly revelation of the Divine names, *El Shaddai* and *Jehovah*, and the division of the history into stages marked by the recurrence of the phrase 'These are the generations of...' (see p. 58) are instances of that 'arrangement of the material in a systematic manner' to which attention has been directed, from which an inference has been drawn in favour of a late date for P.

(*b*) *The use of anthropomorphisms*. It has already been pointed out that the representation of God in Gen. i.—ii. 4 is less anthropomorphic than that in Gen. ii. 4—iii. (see

pp. 59 f.). Similar differences may be noted in the patriarchal narratives, and in the account of the deliverance at the Red Sea. In recording the manifestation at Sinai P makes use of a characteristic phrase '*the glory of Jehovah*.' His description in Exod. xxiv. 15*b*—18*a* (from 'and the cloud covered...' to '...went up into the mount,' the continuation of xix. 1, 2*a*) shews *restraint* when compared with the account in ch. xix. The phrase is repeated on other occasions during the wanderings (see No. 32). In other sources reference is made to God's glory, partly revealed to Moses (Exod. xxxiii. 18—23), and to the children of Israel at Horeb (Deut. v. 24), and filling the whole earth (Num. xiv. 21); but in P the phrase seems used in order to avoid direct mention of the Divine Name. May the beginning of that reverential feeling be here traced, which led to the use of *Memra* (='word') in the Targums, where *Jehovah* in the Hebrew text is generally rendered by '*the Word of Jehovah*'?

Another instance of this reverential feeling may be noted:

In describing the Divine action towards man, expressions indicating relationship between man and his fellow are avoided; thus P uses the phrase

establish a covenant (*hēḳim b'rith*) instead of *cut a covenant* (*kārath b'rith*), the phrase ordinarily used of human covenants, which is found in the other sources.

In Part II of the Introduction selected portions of P have been examined, and it has been pointed out that whether contributing to a composite story, or enunciating laws affecting social order, or assigning duties to the threefold order of high priest, priest, and Levite, this document exhibits a later stage of development than that which marks the other sources. The remarks which have been here made on the document considered as a whole tend to confirm the inferences which have there been drawn from considering portions of it, and comparing them with parts of JE and D.

Some remarks on the so-called 'archaisms' of the Pentateuch may be made here.

(*a*) It is well known that in the Pentateuch the pronoun for the third person singular is generally written הוּא both for the masculine and feminine. This usage has been considered as evidence of antiquity. It is said that in the earlier stages of the Hebrew language one sound only was used to denote both 'he' and 'she,' that the existence of the one form הוּא is evidence of this ancient usage, and that the Massoretic pointing הִוא (to be read הִיא) for the feminine indicates a later differentiation between the pronunciation of the Hebrew pronouns of the 3 s.m. and 3 s.f. But the distinction of sound between these two pronouns exists in Arabic, Aramaic, and Ethiopic, and this fact shews that the distinction is part of the common stock of the Semitic languages. It is highly improbable that the Hebrew language, which distinguishes, in common with its sister languages, between the genders of the second person, should have dropped this equally necessary distinction in the third person, and resumed it again at a later period. In old inscriptions Phoenician, Moabite, and Aramaic, the pronoun is *written* הא for both genders, and it seems probable that the same letters were used in Hebrew, though they were *pronounced hū'*, or *hī'*, according as these two letters (הא) referred to a male or female, or to a noun of masculine or feminine gender. The ו and י were added afterwards, as they were in other cases, to guide the reader; but they did not form part of the earliest *written* representation of the personal pronouns. (See Ges.-K. § 32 *l*.)

(*b*) A similar use of the same form to express both masculine and feminine has been preserved in the word נער, which in the Pentateuch is used both for a *young man* and *young woman*, the context of course deciding which is intended. The three letters are used to denote a *damsel* in Gen. xxiv. (5 t), xxxiv. (3 t), and Deut. xxii. (14 t). In this last chapter the full form נערה *nā'ᵃrāh* occurs in ver. 19 as in other parts of the O.T.

(*c*) האל occurs eight times in the Pentateuch (once in 1 Chron.) instead of the more usual form האלה. In the cognate languages the corresponding word ends with a vowel sound.

This is, like (*b*), an instance of the final ה being occasionally omitted; and there can be no doubt that the word should be pronounced *hā'ĕllĕh*, just as if written in the fuller, and more usual form.

The preceding variations illustrate the use of the letters ה, ו, and י to indicate vowel sounds. It is impossible to fix a date when these letters were first employed for this purpose. The development of a more complete orthography was gradual; it seems probable that it was designed to preserve a correct pronunciation, when Hebrew ceased to be the common language of the people. This change of dialect is of later date than that assigned by critics to P, and consequently these variations in orthography do not raise any presumption in favour of an extreme antiquity for that document.

With reference to (*a*) it may be noted that the usage of the Pentateuch is not absolutely uniform; הִיא occurs eleven times. The peculiarity is also found in the MS. of the later prophets dated 916 A.D. This MS. is at St Petersburg, and has been published in facsimile by Strack.

With reference to (*c*) it should be noted that besides the eight exceptional cases of הָאֵל, the demonstrative is found in the Pentateuch more than 250 times in the usual form, as in other parts of the Hebrew Bible. Also that the form אֵל occurs once in 1 Chron. xx. 8.

These peculiar forms do not occur in the Samaritan Pentateuch. If they were in existence at the time that copy was made, they were not regarded as the best readings. If they are of later date than the Samaritan copy, they of course furnish no evidence for the antiquity of the Pentateuch.

The reader who wishes further information may consult Driver, *LOT*[8] pp. 125 f., *Deuteronomy*, Intr. pp. lxxxvii f., 255, and Kuenen, *Hexateuch*, pp. 318 f., 321 f., 342, where he will find these and other alleged 'archaisms' discussed. He may feel assured that the existing text of the Pentateuch does not furnish any arguments that affect the conclusions generally accepted by critics with reference to the date of its composition.

APPENDIX III.

Comparison of the Covenant Code with Deuteronomy and Leviticus.

	Exodus	Deuteronomy	Leviticus
Slaves	xxi. 2—11	xv. 12—18	xxv. 39—46
Murder and Asylum	xxi. 12		xxiv. 17, 21
	xxi. 13, 14	xix. 1—13	(Num. xxxv.)
Offences against parents	xxi. 15, 17	xxvii. 16	
		xxi. 18—21	
Man-stealing	xxi. 16	xxiv. 7	
Compensations[1] for damage	xxi. 18—xxii. 15		
Retaliation	xxi. 23—25	xix. 21	xxiv. 19, 20
Seduction	xxii. 16, 17	xxii. 28, 29	
Sorcery and Divination	xxii. 18	xviii. 9—14	xix. 26*b*, 31, xx. 6, 27
	xxii. 19	xxvii. 21	xviii. 22, xx. 15
Other gods	xxii. 20	xvii. 2—7[2]	
Stranger (i.e. resident foreigner; see App. II, No. 14)	xxii. 21 Repeated in xxiii. 9	xxiv. 17	xix. 33
Widow and orphan	xxii. 22—24	xxiv. 19—22	xix. 9 f., xxiii. 22
Interest	xxii. 25	xxiii. 19, 20	xxv. 35—37
Pledges	xxii. 26, 27	xxiv. 10—13	
Reverence	xxii. 28	not in Deut.	

[1] Neither in Deut., nor in Lev., except the law of retaliation (as given two lines below).

[2] The character of alien worship is more specific in Deut. On the expression 'the host of heaven' see remarks on p. 136.

	Exodus	Deuteronomy	Leviticus
Firstfruits	xxii. 29	xv. 19—23	
and firstlings	xxii. 30	xxvi. 1—11, xii. 6	
Unclean food	xxii. 31	xiv. 21	xvii. 15
False witness	xxiii. 1	xix. 16—21	xix. 15
Just judgement	xxiii. 2, 3		xix. 15, 16
	xxiii. 6, 7	xvi. 18—20	
Bribes	xxiii. 8	xvi. 19	
Animals astray	xxiii. 4	xxii. 1—3	
or fallen	xxiii. 5	xxii. 4	
Seventh year	xxiii. 10, 11	xv. 1—11	xxv. 1—7
Sabbath	xxiii. 12		xix. 3, xxvi. 2
Other gods (cp. xxii. 20)	xxiii. 13	vi. 14, xi. 16	
Pilgrimage feasts	xxiii. 14—17	xvi. 1—17	xxiii. (Num. xxviii., xxix.)
Leaven[1]	xxiii. 18		ii. 11
Fat not to be left till the morning	xxiii. 18		vii. 15—18 xix. 6—8
Firstfruits	xxiii. 19		ii. 14—16
Kid not to be boiled in mother's milk	xxiii. 19	xiv. 21	
Concluding exhortation	xxiii. 20—33	xxviii.	xxvi. 3—45

The following conclusions may be drawn from an examination of this table:

A comparison of the passages in Exod. and Deut. shews that:

(1) The whole legislation in the Book of the Covenant [Exod. xxi. 18—xxii. 15 excepted] is repeated (sometimes with material modifications) in Deuteronomy (see p. 125).

[1] The prohibition of leaven with a sacrifice is general in Exod. xxiii. 18; in Lev. ii. 11 the prohibition is in the case of the meal offering: in vii. 15—18 a distinction is made between different offerings; the flesh of a thanksgiving offering must not be left till the morning, but other sacrifices may be eaten on the following day.

(2) The similarity of expression between the laws as enunciated in Exod. and Deut. shews that the laws of the Covenant code were known to the writer of Deuteronomy. Also the fact that the Deuteronomic legislation practically includes that of the Covenant code renders it probable that the laws of Exod. xxi.—xxiii. were known to the compiler of the Deuteronomic code, not only separately, but in their combination.

It must not, however, be supposed that Deut. is simply a reproduction of the Covenant code. Much of the legislation in Deut. lies outside the area of that code, and is probably taken from some other source which has not been preserved elsewhere in the Pentateuch.

It also appears that:

(3) The passages in Lev. are nearly all from the 'Holiness' code of Lev. xvii.—xxvi. (see p. 112).

A comparison of the passages in Leviticus with those in Exod. and Deut. shews that:

(4) The relation between the passages in Exod. and Deut. and those in Lev. is different in character from that between Exod. and Deut. which has been pointed out in (1) and (2).

The technical terms are sometimes, but not always, the same, but the close similarity, both in words and phrases, between Exod. and Deut. is not found in Leviticus. This will appear on consulting the parallel passages relating to slavery in the table on p. 124. The same ideas are expressed in nearly the same words in Exod. and Deut., but the passages from Leviticus in the third column have but few words in common with those in the first and second columns, and the general purport of the Levitical law is different from that of the corresponding laws in Exod. and Deut. There are also sometimes very material differences between the regulations in Lev. and those in Exod. and Deut. on the same subject. The reader may verify these statements for other laws besides those about slavery by comparing the passages in the first and second columns with

those in the third column: especially noticeable is the different application of the sabbatical year in each of the codes. The law about Asylum in the third column is in Num. xxxv. (P): for a comparison of this law with that in Deut. see pp. 121 f.

The dependence of the Deuteronomic code on the Covenant code may be maintained with confidence; the laws in Deut. and H may in some cases have a common source, but they have acquired their present forms through independent development.

APPENDIX IV.

The Style of Deuteronomy.

a. The distinctive character of Deuteronomy is shewn rather in the grouping together of ordinary words in phrases, than in the employment of unusual expressions. A few examples are here appended by way of supplement to the remarks on pp. 73, 109. For further details the commentary in this series should be consulted, and Driver, *Deut.* Introduction, pp. lxxviii ff., xciii, and the notes on particular passages in the commentary, especially pp. 67, 90, 100, 140, &c.

(1) References to the 'land' (viii. 7—10; xi. 10—12) as a good land (iii. 25; iv. 21, 22; vi. 18; ix. 6; xi. 17),

(*a*) given by God, *which Jehovah thy*[1] *God is giving thee*, iii. 20; iv. 1, 40; xi. 17, 31; xii. 9; xv. 7; xvi. 5, 18, 20; xvii. 2, 14; xviii. 9; xxv. 15; xxvii. 2, 3; xxviii. 8, 52 [in some of these passages *gates* or *cities* are found instead of *land*];

(*b*) as an *inheritance*, iv. 21; xix. 10; xx. 16; xxi. 23; xxiv. 4; xxvi. 1;

Or, *to possess it*, v. 31; xix. 2, 14; xxi. 1: both phrases combined in xv. 4; xxv. 19. Cp. xix. 3; xxvi. 1;

(*c*) *whither ye go over to possess it*, iv. 5, 14, 22, 26; vi. 1; xi. 8, 11; xxx. 18;

(*d*) *go in to* (or *and*) *possess it*, i. 8, 39; iv. 1, 5; vi. 18; vii. 1; viii. 1 (cp. ix. 1, 5); xi. 10, 31;

(*e*) *which He sware unto thy fathers*, i. 35; vi. 10; viii. 1; x. 11; xi. 9, 21.

[1] The personal pronoun varies both in this and many of the following expressions, instead of 'thy' will be found 'your,' 'our.'

(2) *To prolong days.*

iv. 26, 40; v. 33; xi. 9; xvii. 20; xxii. 7; xxx. 18; xxxii. 47; *that thy days may be long* (same word in Heb.), v. 16 (Exod. xx. 12); vi. 2; xxv. 15. Generally with the addition of *upon the land*, with one of the phrases in (1), (*a*)—(*e*). Also 1 Kings iii. 14; Josh. xxiv. 31 (=Judg. ii. 7); Isai. liii. 10; Prov. xxviii. 16; Eccl. viii. 13†.

Sometimes combined with *that it may be well with thee*, iv. 40; v. 16, 29, 33; vi. 3, 18; xii. 25, 28; xxii. 7. Cp. vi. 24; x. 13; xix. 13.

(3) *Which I am commanding thee this day.*

iv. 40; vi. 6; vii. 11; viii. 1, 11; x. 13; xi. 8; xiii. 18; xv. 5; xix. 9; xxvii. 10; xxviii. 1, 13, 15; xxx. 2, 8, 11, 16. With reference to the legislation contained in the book, and as distinguished from the Ten Words imparted at Horeb. Occasionally without *this day* vi. 2; xii. 14, 28. The legislation is described as

(4) *Statutes and judgements.*

iv. 1, 5, 8, 14; v. 1; xi. 32; xii. 1; xxvi. 16;

the commandment [in the sing.; see p. 113, note 3] viii. 1,

and the statutes and the judgements, v. 31; vi. 1; vii. 11;

the (*this*) *commandment*, vi. 25; xv. 5; xvii. 20; xix. 9; (*thy commandment*), xxvi. 13;

statutes commandments [*and judgements*], iv. 40; vi. 2; viii. 11; xi. 1 (in different order); xxvi. 17;

commandments testimonies and statutes, vi. 17, 20 (different order).

The Deuteronomic passages in Kings contain the same expressions: 1 Kings viii. 58, 61; ix. 4; xi. 33—38; 2 Kings xvii. 34, 37. The expression *all the* (*this*) *commandment* is found Deut. v. 31; vi. 25; viii. 1; xi. 8; xv. 5; xix. 9; xxvii. 1; xxxi. 5 and not elsewhere.

(5) *The place which Jehovah* [*your God*] *shall choose to cause His name to dwell there.*

xii. 11; xiv. 23; xvi. 2, 6, 11; xxvi. 2. Cp. Jer. vii. 12; Neh. i. 9. The first part only of the phrase (as far as 'choose') occurs xii. 14, 18, 26; xiv. 25; xv. 20; xvi. 7, 15, 16; xvii. 8, 10; xviii. 6; xxxi. 11. With this may be compared the name *Mishkān, Dwelling*, frequently

given in P to the Tent of meeting[1]. Another expression, *to put His name there*, occurs xii. 5, 21; xiv. 24.

(6) *So shalt thou put away* (consume utterly as by fire) *the evil from the midst of thee*, or *from Israel.*

xiii. 5; xvii. 7, 12; xix. 19; xxi. 21; xxii. 21, 22, 24; xxiv. 7. Peculiar to Deut.; the same verb (Piel of בער) is used in xix. 13; xxi. 9 (the innocent blood); xxvi. 13 (hallowed things), 14; also 2 Sam. iv. 11; 1 Kings xxii. 46; 2 Kings xxiii. 24 (of Josiah); 2 Chron. xix. 3; and with אחרי 1 Kings xiv. 10; xvi. 3; xxi. 21, in the sense of cutting off posterity.

(7) The expression *Jehovah thy God* [see No. 1 (*a*)] occurs very frequently in Deut.

It is found elsewhere, especially in H, in the expression, 'I am *Jehovah* thy God' (see p. 112), and occasionally in P, but the fact that it occurs more than 300 times in Deut. marks it as a characteristic of this book.

(8) *Other gods*, generally in warnings against *going after* or *serving* them.

vi. 14; vii. 4; xiii. 2, 6, 13; xvii. 3; not confined to Deut., but used frequently in that book, in Jeremiah, and in those portions of Judges and Kings which are generally assigned to the compilers. Also Exod. xx. 3 (= Deut. v. 7), xxiii. 13, and xxxiv. 14 (in the sing.).

(9) *That Jehovah may bless thee* xiv. 29; xxiii. 20; xxiv. 19; xxx. 16; or *Jehovah will bless thee* vii. 13; xii. 7; xiv. 24; xv. 4, 6, 10, 14, 18; xvi. 10, 15; xxviii. 8, 12; or *because Jehovah hath blessed thee* ii. 7. Cp. x. 15, 21, and the prayer for a blessing in xxvi. 15.

God's guidance and blessing in the past, as shewn in the wilderness, is urged as a reason for obedience; the prospect of further blessing is set forth as an encouragement to observe His statutes and judgements. Sometimes in connexion with the expressions in No. 2.

[1] A.V. uses 'tabernacle' both for *mishkān* and for *'ōhel*, '*tent*'; in R.V. *mishkān* is rendered 'tabernacle,' thus preserving the distinction between the two Heb. terms.

(10) *Thou canst not, he cannot*, in prohibitions (rendered *may not*).

In vii. 22; xii. 17; xvi. 5; xvii. 15; xxi. 16; xxii. 3, 19, 29; xxiv. 4. This use of the Heb. word יכל in the sense of moral inability is rare. Cp. Gen. xliii. 32; Judg. xxi. 18.

(11) *Jehovah loveth you.*

vii. 7, 8, 13; xxiii. 5. His love to the fathers is the reason for choosing their seed, and bringing them out of Egypt, iv. 37; x. 15 (the verb here and in vii. 7 is different). Not elsewhere in Hex. A prominent thought in Hosea (see cc. i.—iii., xi. 1—4).

(12) *An abomination to the* LORD *thy God.*

vii. 25; xii. 31; xvii. 1; xviii. 12; xxii. 5; xxiii. 18; xxv. 16; xxvii. 15. Of certain deeds, or of the doer of them. The word *abomination* occurs by itself vii. 26 (of the silver or gold on idols); xiii. 14, xvii. 4 (of idolatry); xiv. 3 (of forbidden food); in the plural, xviii. 9, xx. 18 (of heathen practices), and in the Song (xxxii. 16) in parallelism with 'strange gods.'

The preceding examples illustrate the character of the discourse in Deuteronomy; but in order to form any adequate idea of the rhythm, pathos, and earnestness exhibited in this book, whole chapters must be studied. A continuous reading of cc. v.—xi., whether in English or in Hebrew, will furnish the best proof that Deut. has a style of its own, and shew that 'the book is written in a very different manner from the preceding ones[1].' The frequent recurrence of the characteristic phrases enumerated above (with others which the observant reader may note) will confirm this judgement.

b. The resemblances, both in style and expression, between the prophet Jeremiah and Deuteronomy are recognized by all commentators (p. 142).

Some illustrations of these resemblances which 'are neither few nor insignificant[2]' are appended:

[1] *Speaker's Commentary*, Introd. to Deut. p. 793.
[2] *ibid.* p. 794.

(i) The land given as an inheritance [see above, No. 1 (*a*), (*b*)] is often described as one which God *causes Israel to inherit.*

Deut. i. 38; iii. 28; xii. 10; xix. 3; xxxi. 7 and Josh. i. 6 (thou [addressed to Joshua] shalt *cause this people to inherit* the land).

Cp. Jer. iii. 18 the land which *I caused your fathers to inherit.*

xii. 14 the inheritance which *I caused my people Israel to inherit.*

(ii) *A strong hand and stretched out arm.*

Deut. iv. 34; v. 15; vii. 19; xi. 2; xxvi. 2. Cp. Jer. xxi. 5 *a stretched out hand and a strong arm.*

thy great power and thy stretched out arm. Deut. ix. 29 identical with Jer. xxxii. 17 and (with the pronoun 'my') xxvii. 5.

(iii) *To fear Jehovah our God for our good all the days.* Deut. vi. 24.

Two Deuteronomic expressions 'for our good' and 'all the days,' and a Heb. form of the verb 'to fear' frequently used in Deut. are all found in Jer. xxxii. 29 *that they may fear me all the days for their good.*

Cp. Deut. iv. 10; v. 29; vi. 2; xiv. 23; xxxi. 13.

(iv) *Going after other gods to serve them, and worship them.* (Cp. No. 8 above.)

Deut. viii. 19; xi. 16; xiii. 2, 6, 13; xvii. 3; xxviii. 14; xxix. 18—26; xxx. 17; also Josh. xxiii. 16. Cp. Jer. xi. 10; xiii. 10; xvi. 11; xxii. 9; xxv. 6; xxxv. 15 where the same expressions are found.

(v) A metaphorical application of *circumcision* to *the heart.* Deut. x. 16; xxx. 6.

Cp. Jer. iv. 4; ix. 26.

(vi) The prophet that shall *speak a word in my name that I have not commanded him.*

Deut. xviii. 20. Cp. Jer. xxix. 23 also with Deut. xviii. 22. Cp. Jer. xxviii. 9; xiv. 15.

(vii) *The iron furnace* applied to Egypt.

Deut. iv. 20; Jer. xi. 4 and 1 Kings viii. 51 (a chapter containing, especially in *vv.* 14—61, many Deuteronomic expressions).

(viii) *Thou shalt be a consternation* (unusual word) *unto all the kingdoms of the earth.*

Deut. xxviii. 25. The same clause, with two unusual expressions, is found in Jer. xv. 4; xxiv. 9; xxix. 18 and xxxiv. 17.

(ix) *Thy carcase shall be food unto all the fowls of the air, and unto the beasts of the earth, and there shall be none to fray* (i.e. *frighten*) *them away.*

Deut. xxviii. 26; so Jer. vii. 33 *the carcases of this people shall be...* The sentence occurs without the last clause in Jer. xvi. 4; xix. 7. This last clause is found only in Deut. xxviii. 26 and Jer. vii. 33; the same Heb. words occur in Lev. xxvi. 6, Jer. xxx. 10=xlvi. 27, and in other places, but with a different application, *and no one shall make him* (*you*) *afraid.*

(x) *The* LORD *shall bring thee...unto a nation which thou hast not known, thou nor thy fathers; and there shalt thou serve other gods, wood and stone.*

Deut. xxviii. 36, and with this cp. xxviii. 64 *The* LORD *shall scatter thee...and there thou shalt serve other gods, which thou hast not known, thou nor thy fathers, even wood and stone.* Cp. Jer. xvi. 13 I will cast you forth out of this land *into the land that ye have not known, ye nor your fathers, and there shall ye serve other gods* day and night, and Jer. ix. 16 *I will scatter them also among the nations whom they have not known, they nor their fathers.*

(xi) *The* LORD *shall bring a nation against thee from far... a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand...and he shall eat the fruit of thy cattle, and the fruit of thy ground...*[*and*] *not leave thee corn, wine or oil.... And he shall besiege thee in all thy gates, until thy high and fortified walls come down.... And thou shalt eat the fruit of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons and of thy daughters, which the* LORD *thy God hath given thee in the siege and in the straitness wherewith thine enemies shall straiten thee.*

Deut. xxviii. 49—53, with which cp. Jer. v. 15 *I will bring a nation against you from far,...a nation whose tongue* thou knowest not

neither *understandest* what they say...*they shall eat thine harvest and thy bread...they shall eat thy flocks and thy herds, they shall eat thy vines* and thy fig trees: they shall beat down *thy fortified cities...*
and Jer. xix. 9 *and I will cause them to eat the flesh of their sons, and the flesh of their daughters*, and they shall eat every one the flesh of his friend, *in the siege and in the straitness wherewith their enemies* and they that seek their life *shall straiten them.*

(xii) *All the nations shall say Wherefore hath the* LORD *done thus unto this land...? And men shall say Because they forsook the covenant of the* LORD *God of their fathers...and went and served other gods, and worshipped them.*

Deut. xxix. 24, 25. The question and answer are found in almost identical terms in Jer. xxii. 8, 9 *Wherefore hath the* LORD *done thus unto this great city? And they shall say Because they forsook the covenant of the* LORD *their God, and worshipped other gods and served them.*

The following inferences may be drawn from a consideration of the preceding lists:

The marked difference between Deuteronomy and the rest of the Pentateuch points to diversity of authorship. In various sections of the Introduction many points of divergence between D and JE, and also between D and P, have been indicated (see pp. 117—122, 132 f., 154—157). Cumulative evidence has thus been offered that D differs in origin from the rest of the Pentateuch. The literary argument as outlined in (*a*) supports and corroborates this evidence.

The marked similarity between Deuteronomy and Jeremiah points to some affinity of origin. The same line of thought, the same choice of expressions, are usually found in writers which are not far removed in point of time, one from the other. When they have common aims and ideals, their community of purpose is exhibited in community of language. The age of Jeremiah is known, and the literary evidence collected in (*b*) tends to shew that Deuteronomy also is a product of the same period. A

study of Josiah's reform (see pp. 135 ff.) points to the same conclusion. Thus the literary and historical evidence agree together. Dillmann's remark (*Num. Deut. und Jos.* p. 611), quoted by Driver, *LOT*[8] p. 88, that 'the style of Deut. implies a long development of the art of public oratory, and is not of a character to belong to the first age of Israelitish literature,' may be admitted as a just judgement, and as further corroborating the combined literary and historical evidence already adduced.

APPENDIX V.

Leviticus xvii.—xxvi. and the prophet Ezekiel.

These chapters of Leviticus attracted attention in the early days of criticism; and since Graf, in his book published in 1866 (see p. 36), put forward the view that the greater part of Lev. xvii.—xxvi. in its present form is the work of the prophet Ezekiel, these chapters have been carefully analysed and compared with the prophet's writings.

It is generally agreed that:

(1) These ten chapters of Leviticus have no marked connexion with the preceding legislation, or with the last chapter of Leviticus which follows.

> The exhortation in c. xxvi. with its promises and warnings is evidently intended as a conclusion to the preceding legislation. The last verse of the chapter points through that exhortation to the laws in cc. xvii.—xxv., which are described as 'statutes and judgements and laws.' Its position indicates that the discourse in c. xxvi. is regarded as an integral part of the collection, and the verse separates what precedes from the chapter following.

(2) The style and phraseology of P is clearly marked in portions of these chapters, especially in certain parts of c. xxiii. and in xxiv. 1—9.

> With the help of the list in Appendix II the student will be able to verify this statement for the passages specified, and to recognize other portions as belonging to P. But the exact limits of P cannot always be determined in this section. For details, Kuenen *Hex.* pp. 275 f., *LOT*[2], pp. 51—57, and the commentary on Leviticus may be consulted.

(3) When the portions belonging to P have been set aside, there remains

(*a*) a code of laws containing prescriptions of varied character which do not exhibit affinity with P, with which are combined

(*b*) hortatory passages, and certain characteristic expressions which have already been noticed on p. 112.

The editor of this code, who has added the matter described in (*b*), seems to have collected existing laws from different sources, instead of drawing up a code himself. It will be sufficient to give here a few illustrations in support of this statement, and to refer to the commentary for further details.

The command 'my sabbaths shall ye keep' is found both in xix. 3 and xix. 30. In *v.* 3 it is preceded by the injunction 'ye shall fear every man his mother and his father'; in *v.* 30 it is followed by 'and my sanctuary ye shall reverence.' In both verses, the double precept concludes with the words 'I am the LORD' ['your God' added in *v.* 3], and both pairs of precepts are followed by a negative 'Turn ye not to' in *v.* 4 'idols,' in *v.* 31 'them that have familiar spirits.' In xxvi. 2, *v.* 30 is repeated, and a precept similar to that in xix. 4 is found in xxvi. 1. These repetitions of the same command with different accompaniments are most reasonably explained on the supposition that the combinations in *v.* 3 and *v.* 30 were both in existence as compound precepts, and have been preserved in both forms by the compiler of the code.

An examination of cc. xviii.—xx. leads to a similar conclusion. Two lists, in which marriage within certain degrees and other unlawful actions are prohibited, are found in c. xviii. and c. xx. The list in c. xx. assigns punishments for some of the offences enumerated in c. xviii., and may be considered as supplementary to the list in the earlier chapter. Between these two lists c. xix. is inserted. It contains laws both civil and religious, to many of which parallels may be found in the Decalogue, in Exod. xx.—xxiii., and in Deuteronomy. The author of a code, who intended to prohibit the offences mentioned in c. xviii., and to mete out punishment to the offenders, would not have written cc. xviii.—xx.

in their present form. It does not seem probable that he would have separated c. xviii. from c. xx. by inserting the laws of c. xix., laws of miscellaneous character which have no definite connexion with the subject matter of the chapters preceding and following. The sequence has probably been determined by the sources of which the section is composed. It seems necessary to assume that documents or traditionally preserved enactments had already assumed a fixed form, and that a compiler has placed them together without material alteration.

Two inferences may be drawn from the preceding statements:

(i) That a collection of laws, mainly based on existing enactments, has been made by an editor, who has combined with the legislation exhortations to its observance, and impressed on the whole that character which has been described on p. 112.

(ii) That this collection has been revised, probably when it was incorporated with the Priestly code, by a writer acquainted with that document, and working in the spirit of it.

Two stages can thus be traced in the formation of these chapters. The enforcement of 'holiness' (see p. 112) has been generally recognized as the distinguishing mark of the first redactor; he may be designated by Rh; for the second, as a priestly writer, the symbol Rp is appropriate.

The Holiness code (i.e. the work of Rh) is therefore of an earlier date than the Priestly code, and the further question arises, To what period should it be assigned?

For an answer to this question, the code itself must be examined. And here a distinction must be drawn between the laws, and their parenetic setting. Some of the laws may be, and in fact are, older than the date of their collection; their parenetic setting is due to the compiler.

The date of the laws can only be determined by comparing them with corresponding laws in other codes; the date of their compilation may be inferred from a comparison of the parenetic setting with other parts of the O.T.

The first comparison (that of the laws in H with those in other codes) does not yield assured results. Some critics consider that there are no laws in H which may not be accounted for on the supposition that Rh has borrowed from the same sources as JE and D, and added some regulations derived from existing use or from priestly circles. Others find in H so much akin to P, that they are disposed to look on it as the first step towards the more fully developed system of the Priestly code. And as the dividing line between what belongs to H and what is due to the recension of Rp cannot always be traced with precision, there is danger of reasoning in a circle when discussing some of the details.

Similarity between H and JE. The subjects which are common to JE, D, and H are shewn in the table in Appendix III. Further coincidences may be traced in Lev. xix. 4, which is similar to Exod. xx. 23, and in verbal agreement with xxxiv. 17; in Lev. xix. 15 compared with Exod. xxiii. 3; and in Lev. xix. 33,34 compared with Exod. xxii. 21, xxiii. 9. The parallelism in these passages is not only in the idea but also in the form of its expression. Many precepts in Lev. xix. are similar to those in the Decalogue, but they are expressed in different language. The idea of holiness, so prominent in H, is also expressed in Exod. xix. 6 (JE) and xxii. 30 (the Covenant code); and 'I am the LORD your God' (Lev. xviii. 1, 30; xix. 2+6 times), one of the expansions by H of his characteristic phrase 'I am the LORD,' is also in the Decalogue (Exod. xx. 2; Deut. v. 6), but with the singular 'thy God,' as in other parts of Deut., and with another form of the personal pronoun[1].

But against these similarities may be set instances of divergence in expression. The mention of 'mother' before 'father' in Lev. xix. 3 and xxi. 2 can hardly be an accidental transposition; it seems to indicate the existence of a different form of the precept,

[1] The longer form of the first personal pronoun (אָנֹכִי) occurs in the Decalogue, not the shorter (אָנִי), as always in H. This difference, in such a word, is remarkable; but it agrees with the fact that the longer form is preferred by J and E, and is nearly always used in D, while the shorter form is almost exclusively used in P, H, Ezek., and other late writers (*LOT*[8] p. 135).

in a source other than the Decalogue. Compare also the first and third columns of the table in App. III.

Similarity between H and D. Besides the laws already tabulated in Appendix III, there are many laws common to D and H which are not in JE.

	Leviticus.	Deuteronomy.
Place of sacrifice.	xvii. 2—9	xii.
Eating blood.	xvii. 10—14; xix. 25	xii. 16, 23—25
Unlawful marriages and other unlawful acts.	xviii. 1—18 xx. 10—21	xxii. 30, xxiii. 1, xxvii. 20, 22 and cp. xxv. 5—10
Molech worship. Magical arts.	xviii. 21; xx. 2—5 xix. 26, 31; xx. 6, 27	xviii. 10—14
Gleanings to be left.	xix. 9, 10 and xxiii. 22	xxiv. 19—22
Payment of wages.	xix. 13	xxiv 14, 15
Misleading the blind.	14	xxvii. 18
Respect of persons in judgement.	15	xvi. 19; xxvii. 19
Unlawful mixtures.	19	xxii. 9—11
Disfigurement in mourning.	28	xiv. 1, 2
Immorality.	29; xxi. 9	xxiii. 17
Just weights and measures.	35, 36	xxv 13—16
Sacrifices must be without blemish.	xxii. 21—24	xvii. 1
Peace offerings to be eaten on the same or second day.	xix. 5—8 xxii. 29, 30	xvi. 4[1] cp. Lev. vii. 15—18 xii. 7, 12, 18
Rejoicing[2] before the LORD.	xxiii. 40	xvi. 11, 14, 15

[1] With reference to the Passover. Cp. Exod. xxiii. 18 (E) and xxxiv. 25 (J).

[2] Rejoicing is enjoined in Deut. on many occasions, e.g. on bringing tithes and other offerings; in Lev. on the feast of Tabernacles (Booths).

Various inferences as to the relative age of D and H have been drawn from a comparison of these passages. In the judgement of those critics who assign the Holiness code to the time of the exile, H is in many respects a development of D; but those who would place this code in an earlier period question the cogency of the arguments founded on examination of particular laws.

For example, (1) the injunctions in Lev. xvii. 2—9, which appear to restrict sacrifice to the central sanctuary, are held to be later than those in Deut. which plead for, as well as enjoin, the limitation. But it is not disputed that the present text is the result of revision. The extent of that revision, and consequently the original form of the injunctions, is uncertain; the facts whereon a definite conclusion might be based do not seem to be sufficiently assured (see Driver *LOT*[8] p. 51 for different interpretations of this passage).

(2) The lists in Lev. xviii. and xx. deal more fully with matters to which Deut. makes only occasional reference (see the passages noted in the table). Here again no definite inference can be drawn as to the relative dates of the two codes. It is not certain that the compiler of Deuteronomy would incorporate all the existing laws in his collection, or that he must have taken notice of them.

(3) Marriage with a deceased brother's wife is forbidden in Lev. xviii. 16, xx. 21, while a particular case (the levirate marriage) is enjoined in Deut. xxiv. 5—10. This is regarded by some (e.g. Horst, *Lev. xvii.—xxvi. und Ezechiel*, p. 61, Kuenen, *Hex.* p. 268, Baentsch, *Heiligkeits-Gesetz*, p. 80) as evidence that the law in Leviticus is directed against the custom enjoined in Deut., and is therefore a later ordinance. But Dillmann, *Leviticus*, p. 546, considers that the usage of Deut. may have existed as an exception to the general law, and that no evidence of relative priority can be based on this variation between the codes. The argument of Horst and others is not regarded as conclusive by Moore (*Enc. Bibl.* Art. Leviticus vol. iii. 2790). The reference in the Gospels to the levirate marriage shews that the custom enjoined in Deut. was observed in New Testament times, and was not considered as an infringement of the law in Leviticus.

But if the laws do not furnish conclusive evidence as to dependence or priority, more definite results are obtained from

a comparison of the Holiness code, and especially of its parenetic settings, with the prophecies of Ezekiel. The resemblance between Lev. xvii.—xxvi. and parts of Ezekiel is so remarkably close, that a few critics have followed Graf in regarding the prophet as the compiler of this code.

This similarity is exhibited in the following table. The first column contains extracts from Lev. xxvi. 3—45, and the second passages from Ezekiel where the same expressions occur. The words in *italics* in the second column are *verbally identical* with words in the first column; the other passages contain the same expressions as those cited in the first passage, and those to which 'Cp.' is prefixed are either partly the same, or very similar. References to other books are added, especially to Deuteronomy and Jeremiah. A few comparisons between the earlier chapters of the code and Ezekiel are added.

Lev. xxvi.	Ezekiel.
3. *walk in my statutes.* In xviii. 3, xx. 23 (*customs* R.V. *manners* A.V.) with neg., forbidding to walk in the statutes of other nations. Cp. 2 Kings xvii. 10, 19; Ezek. xx. 18. Jer. xliv. 10, 23 *in my* (his) *law, nor in my* (his) *statutes* ['*nor in his testimonies*' added in *v.* 23].	v. 6, 7; xi. 12, 20; xviii. 9, 17; xx. 13, 16, 19, 21; xxxvi. 27. Cp. xxxiii. 15; generally with an additional clause, as *keep my commandments*, or *my judgements*, both in Ezek. and Lev. xxvi. 3.
4. *Then will I give your rains* (*géshem*) *in their season,* This is the only place in the Pent. where the plural *rains* is found. Deut. xi. 14, xxviii. 10 (but with *māṭār* instead of *géshem*). Jer. v. 24 that *giveth rain* (*géshem*), both the former and the latter, in its season.	xxxiv. 26. I will cause the *rain* (*géshem*) to come down *in* its *season*; there shall be *rains* of blessing.

Lev. xxvi.	Ezekiel.
and the land shall yield her increase, and the trees of the field shall yield their fruit.	xxxiv. 27. *And the tree of the field shall yield its fruit, and the land shall yield her increase.*
With a neg. *v.* 20, Deut. xi. 17, that *the land yield* not *her increase.* Cp. xxxii. 22.	The order of the clauses is inverted.
5. *and ye shall eat your bread to the full, and dwell in your land safely.*	xxxix. 19. *ye shall eat* fat *to the full.*
So in xxv. 19. *And ye shall eat to the full, and dwell therein safely.* Cp. *v.* 18.	xxviii. 26. *and they shall dwell safely therein.* also xxxiv. 25, 28; cf. xxxix. 26; xxxviii. 8, 11, 14.
6. *And I will give peace in the land, and ye shall lie down, and none shall make you afraid: and I will cause evil beasts to cease out of the land, neither shall the sword go through your land.*	xxxiv. 25. And I will make with them a covenant of *peace, and will cause evil beasts to cease out of the land.* Cp. v. 17.
Cp. Exod. xxiii. 29.	xxxiv. 28. *They shall dwell safely, and none shall make them afraid.* Cp. xxxix. 26; xiv. 15, 17 (*sword, go through the land*), 21.
7, 8. *And ye shall chase your enemies.* Contrast[1] *vv.* 36, 37.	
9. *And I will have respect unto you, and make you fruitful, and multiply you; and will establish my covenant with you.*	xxxvi. 9—11. For, behold, I am for you, *and I will have respect unto you...and I will multiply* upon you man and beast; *and they shall multiply and be fruitful*[2].
Two expressions of P are here combined (see App. II, No. 6, and p. 225).	xvi. 62. *And I will establish my covenant with thee.*

[1] The contrast between putting their enemies to flight, and being put to flight before them, occurs also Deut. xxviii. 7, 25. Cp. xxxii. 30.

[2] The same Heb. roots as 'make you fruitful and multiply you' in Lev. xxvi. 9.

Lev. xxvi.	Ezekiel
11. *and I will set my tabernacle* (dwelling, see App. IV, No. 5) *among you.*	xxxvii. 26, 27. *I will set* my sanctuary *in the midst of them... my tabernacle* (dwelling) also shall be with them. Cp. xxv. 4.
12. *I will be your God, and ye shall be my people.*	xxxvi. 28. *ye shall be my people, and I will be your God.* Also xxxvii. 23.
13. *and I have broken the bars of* your *yoke.*	xxxiv. 27. *when I have broken the bars of* their *yoke.*
The two words *bars* and *yoke* are combined only in these two passages.	Cp. Ezek. xxx. 18.
15. *If ye shall reject my statutes and if your soul abhor my judgements.*	xx. 24. *they had rejected my statutes.*
Cf. *v.* 43, where *statutes* and *judgements* are interchanged, as in Ezek. v. 6; xx. 13, 16.	*v.* 6. *rejected my judgements,* and so xx. 13, 16; with the words, *and walked not in my statutes,* as in Lev. xxvi. 43.
break my covenant[1]. and in *v.* 44.	xvi. 59. *in breaking the covenant.* Cp. xvii. 15, 18; xliv. 7.
16. *I will appoint terror*[2] *over you, even consumption and fever, that shall cause the eyes to fail, and make the soul to pine away*[3]*: and ye shall sow your seed in vain, for your enemies shall eat it.*	

[1] This expression is not confined to any group of writers: it occurs Judg. ii. 1, 1 Kings xv. 19, Isai. xxxiii. 8; but is more frequently found in later prophetic literature (Isai. xxiv. 5 [probably post-exilic]; Jer. xi. 10; xiv. 21; xxxi. 32; xxxiii. 20; Ezek. as cited above). In P it occurs only Gen. xvii. 14, but the verb is found in Num. xv. 31; xxx. 8, 12, 15 with other nouns as objectives. In the passage of uncertain origin, Deut. xxxi. 16—22 (see Driver, *Deut.* pp. lxxvi, 338, 347, and the commentary) it occurs twice (*vv.* 16, 20).

[2] *terror* (*bĕhālāh*) only here in Pent.; also Jer. xv. 8; Isai. lxv. 23; Ps. lxxviii. 33†: the two words following, *consumption* and *fever* (*the burning ague* A.V.), only here and Deut. xxviii. 22.

[3] Cp. *failing of eyes, and pining of soul* Deut. xxviii. 65.

Lev. xxvi.	Ezekiel
17. *I will set my face against you* (...*against that soul*, or *that man*, xvii. 10; xx. 3, 5, 6), *and ye shall be smitten before your enemies.* Cp. Deut. i. 42; xxviii. 25.	xiv. 8. *I will set my face against that man,* also xv. 7.
19. *I will break the pride of your power,*	vii. 24. I will make *the pride* of the powerful to cease. xxx. 6. *the pride of her power* shall come down, shall cease *v.* 18; xxxiii. 28. *the pride of your power* xxiv. 21.
and I will make your heaven as iron, and your earth as brass. so in Deut. xxviii. 23 with *brass* and *iron* interchanged.	
20. the negation of *v.* 4.	
22. *I will send the beast of the field among you, which shall bereave you of your children,*	v. 17. *I will send upon you...* evil *beasts, and they shall bereave thee.* Cp. xiv. 15.
and destroy your cattle,	xiv. 21. *to destroy from it* man and *beast* (same Heb. word as *cattle*), also *vv.* 13, 17, 19; xxv. 13; xxix. 8; xxxii. 13.
and make you few in number;	xxix. 15. *make* them *few in number* [of Egypt].
and your ways shall become desolate. Cf. Jer. xii. 11.	vi. 4. your altars *shall be desolate.* Cp. xxxiii. 28, 29.
25. *I will bring a sword upon you, that shall avenge the vengeance of the covenant;*	v. 17. *I will bring a sword upon thee,* also vi. 3; xi. 8; xiv. 17; xxxiii. 2. xxiv. 8. *avenge the vengeance,* and xxv. 12, 15.
I will send pestilence among you.	xiv. 19. *I send pestilence* into that land. Cf. v. 17; xiv. 21; xxviii. 23 (of Zidon).

Lev. xxvi.	Ezekiel.
26. *When I break your staff of bread*[1]...	xiv. 13. *I will break the staff of the bread* thereof. also iv. 16, v. 16.
they shall deliver your bread again by weight.	iv. 16. they shall eat *bread by weight.*
29. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 53—57; Jer. xix. 9.	
30. *I will destroy your high places, and cut down your sun-images*[2],	vi. 3, 4. *I will destroy your high places...and your sun-images* shall be broken; *sun-images* also in *v.* 6.
and cast your carcases upon the carcases of your idols[3].	vi. 5. *cast the carcases of* the children of Israel before *their idols.*
31. *I will make your cities a waste.*	v. 14. *I will make* thee *a waste,* applied to other countries, xxv. 13; xxix. 10; xxx. 12; xxxv. 4.
32. *And I will bring the land into desolation:*	xxx. 12. *and I will bring the land into desolation* (of Egypt), and *v.* 14 (of Pathros). Cp. xx. 26.
and your enemies which dwell therein shall be astonished at it.	xxvi. 16. *and shall be astonished at* thee (of Tyre).
33. *And you will I scatter among the nations,*	v. 12. a third part *will I scatter,* and *vv.* 2, 10; cp. vi. 8, xii. 15, xxxvi. 19.
and will draw out a sword after you.	v. 2. *and I will draw out a sword after* them. Also *v.* 12, xii. 14; cp. xxviii. 7, xxx. 11.
39. *they that are left of you shall moulder*[4] *away in their iniquity in the lands of your enemies.*	iv. 17. *...and moulder away in their iniquity.* so also xxiv. 23; cf. xxxiii. 10, xxxix. 27, *lands of* their *enemies.*

[1] Besides the passages quoted above *staff of bread* occurs only in Ps. cv. 16.

[2] Only in the passages quoted above, and Isai. xvii. 8; xxvii. 9; 2 Chron. xiv. 5; xxxiv. 4, 7.

[3] Heb. *gillulim*, a scornful term of reproach used for idols, found only once besides in Pent. (Deut. xxix. 17), but more than 50 times in Ezek., and a few times in Kings. Clearly a word of the later monarchy.

[4] A different Heb. word from *pine* in *v.* 16.

Lev. xxvi.	Ezekiel.
40. *their trespass which they trespassed against me.* See App. II, No. 31.	xvii. 20. *his trespass that he trespassed against me.* xviii. 24, xxxix. 26. Cp. xiv. 13, xv. 8, xx. 27.
41. *if their uncircumcised heart be humbled.* Cp. Deut. x. 16, xxx. 6, Jer. iv. 4, ix. 25 and see App. IV, *b.* (v).	xliv. 7, 9, refers to aliens as *uncircumcised in heart.*
43. *because, even because they rejected my judgements, and their soul abhorred my statutes.*	xiii. 10. *because, even because* occurs only here and in Lev. xxvi. 44. Cp. Ezek. xxxvi. 3. v. 6, *rejected my statutes;* cp. xx. 13, 16.
45. *whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt in the sight of the nations.*	xx. 9. *the nations...in whose sight* I made myself known unto them, *in bringing them forth out of the land of Egypt.* *vv.* 14, 22. *the nations in whose sight I brought them forth.* v. 8. *in the sight of the nations.*

Parallels from other chapters are added:

xvii. 8. *Whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel, or of the sojourners that sojourn among them.* Cp. *vv.* 3, 10, 13.	xiv. 7. *Whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel, or of the sojourners that sojourn among them.* Cp. *v.* 4.
xviii. 5. *ye shall keep my statutes and my judgements, which if a man do, he shall live in them.*	xx. 11, 13, 21. *...my statutes and...my judgements, which if a man do, he shall live in them.*
xviii. 7. *The nakedness of thy father...thou shalt not uncover.* To *uncover nakedness* frequently in this ch. and in ch. xx. It is described as *wickedness*[1] (*enormity* R.V.m.) in xviii. 17, xx. 14; cp. xix. 29.	xxii. 9, 10. ...in the midst of thee they have committed *lewdness*[1]. In thee *have they uncovered their fathers' nakedness:* cp. xvi. 37, xxiii. 10, 18, 29.

[1] The same Heb. word *zimmah.*

Leviticus.	Ezekiel.
xix. 16. *Thou shalt not go up and down as a talebearer*[1] *among thy people: neither shalt thou stand against the blood of thy neighbour.*	**xxii. 9.** *Slanderous*[1] men (men that *carry tales*[1] A.V.) have been in thee to shed *blood.*
xix. 35, 36. *Ye shall do no unrighteousness...in measure*[2]. *Just balances...a just ephah...shall ye have.*	**iv. 11.** Thou shalt drink water by *measure*[2], and in *v.* 16.
xix. 8. *...every one that eateth it shall bear his iniquity, because he hath profaned the holy thing of the* LORD.	**xlv. 10.** *Just balances* and *a just ephah...shall ye have.*
xx. 25. *Ye shall therefore separate between the clean beast and the unclean.*	**xiv. 10.** *...they shall bear their iniquity;* also **xviii. 20, xliv. 10, 12. xxii. 26.** Her priests have...*profaned mine holy things. they have not separated between* the holy and the common (profane A.V.) neither have they caused men to discern between *the clean and the unclean.*

This table[3] contains a very remarkable list of words and expressions common to Leviticus and Ezekiel. In App. IV, where the style of Deuteronomy was examined and compared with that of Jeremiah, it was said that the words employed were generally familiar, and that their combinations, and the grouping together of phrases, supplied the distinctive element in the discourse. But this list contains words of less frequent occurrence, and their combinations produce phrases which are unusual, and sometimes startling. Again, Deuteronomy and Jeremiah supplied nearly an equal amount for comparison[4], but here the

[1] The same Heb. word *rākhīl*; also in Jer. ix. 3; Prov. xi. 13; xx. 19.

[2] This word occurs only in these passages and in 1 Chron. xxiii. 29.

[3] To this table might be added Exod. xxxi. 13, 14 *a*, which belongs to H, and exhibits close parallels with Ezek. xx. 12, 13, 20, 21, 24; xxii. 8; xxiii. 38. Note the expressions, *keep my sabbaths, a sign between me and you* (them), *that ye may* (they might) *know that I am the* LORD *which sanctify you* (them), *profane my sabbaths.*

[4] Nearly all the references to Jer. are to the first 35 chapters.

main comparison is between a single chapter (Lev. xxvi.) and the book of Ezekiel. Of the 43 verses (Lev. xxvi. 3—45) which form the concluding exhortation, 25 shew either verbal identity, or close affinity with verses in Ezekiel, and supply nearly 50 expressions common to this chapter and the writings of the prophet, some of which occur only in Leviticus and Ezekiel. Moreover, the similarity is not confined to single verses, but is spread through passages of considerable length. If Ezek. vi. 3—7, xiv. 4—21, xx. 5—44, xxxiv. 25—31 be read continuously with reference to Lev. xxvi., it will be seen that the passages in Ezek. not only contain words and phrases found in Lev. xxvi., but that there is also a resemblance in the grouping together of ideas and expressions. This list of identities and resemblances is without a parallel in the rest of the Old Testament.

It is not surprising that this remarkable similarity led those who first observed it to consider Lev. xxvi. as the work of Ezekiel himself, and to identify the prophet of the captivity with the compiler of the Holiness code. This view has not been accepted by more recent investigators, who point out instances of variation which in their opinion are sufficient to establish diversity of authorship (*Oxf. Hex.* vol. i. p. 151, Driver, *LOT*[8] pp. 148, 150 note †).

If diversity of authorship be assumed, the further question arises, To which must priority be assigned? Is Ezekiel's diction coloured by a remembrance of Lev. xxvi., or is the author of that chapter borrowing the phrases of the prophet? It is difficult to settle a question of literary precedence[1]; but whichever alternative be adopted, the exceptionally close relation between Lev. xxvi. and the prophecies of Ezekiel points to an exceptionally close connexion between their respective authors. The two writers cannot be far removed from one another in point of time, or in respect of place. According as priority is claimed for Leviticus or Ezekiel, the code of Lev. xvii.—xxvi. with its parenetic setting will be assigned to the last days of the Kingdom, or to the exile. In either case, it appears that not

[1] See the discussion of this question in the commentary on Leviticus.

long after the reform under Josiah, a further attempt at codifying the existing law of Israel was made, and put before the people under prophetic sanction.

The whole investigation raises further difficulties in the way of accepting the traditional view of Pentateuch authorship. According to that view, or any modified form of it such as that suggested by Dr Orr (*Prob. of O.T.* pp. 369—376), Ezekiel's copy of the Pentateuch was substantially the same as that possessed by the English reader of the present day. Now if Ezekiel were familiar with the whole Pentateuch, and regarded it as a venerable document of great antiquity, it is difficult to explain why he should have selected one portion, and especially one chapter, as a model for his discourses. The remarkable coincidences between Ezekiel and Lev. xxvi. are not adequately explained by saying that Ezekiel, being a priest, was thoroughly familiar with priestly regulations. It is not with the laws of the Priestly code that Ezekiel displays such familiarity[1], but with a particular code (H), which, though now incorporated with P, represents an earlier stage of legislation. He is notorious as the prophet whose writings perplexed the Jewish rabbis, because of the *differences* between them and the Priestly code. Though his language has affinities with P, he makes no direct reference to the laws of P, even where such reference would be most opportune. He propounds a scheme for 'the house...and all the ordinances thereof' (Ezek. xliii. 11), also for its ministers (xliv. 10—14), and specifies the sacrifices which should be offered on particular occasions (xlv. 9—xlvi. 15). Though in so doing he treats of matters for which precise regu-

[1] He shews, however, familiarity with *some* parts of P outside Lev. xvii.—xxvi., as Lev. xi. 44 *b* (Ezek. iv. 14 *a*), Exod. vi. 3, 4, 6, 8 (Ezek. xx. 5, 38), Exod. xxxi. 13 (Ezek. xx. 12, 20), Lev. x. 9, 10 (Ezek. xliv. 21, 23), Num. xviii. 20 (Ezek. xliv. 28 *a*), Num. xviii. 14, xv. 21 (Ezek. xliv. 29 *b*, 30 *b*); and also with P's technical phraseology. See Driver *LOT*[8] pp. 146 f., and the passages from Ezek. noted in App. II. The Priestly terminology was certainly older than Ezekiel, and P is clearly not the work of *one* hand. Cp. the remarks on p. 188.

lations are laid down in the Priestly code, he nowhere refers to such regulations, nor does he imply that they have already been issued on the authority of Moses. He often lays down regulations *different* from those in P. His ordinance (xliv. 10—14), limiting the priesthood to the sons of Zadok, has been discussed on pp. 164 ff. The inference there drawn is that the distinction between the sons of Aaron and the rest of the Levites, as set forth in the Priestly code, was not known to him, and that Ezekiel occupies a position intermediate between the Deuteronomic and the Priestly codes. Exactly the same inference may be drawn from the ordinances concerning sacrifice, and from the duties assigned to 'the prince' in connexion with the service of 'the house.' It is difficult to suppose that Ezekiel would have issued these instructions, if the Priestly code was at that time in force. The instructions are intelligible when regarded as preparing the way for the demands of the Priestly code, but perplexing when viewed as supplementing them.

The investigation in App. IV has established a probability that the book of Deuteronomy belongs to an age not far removed from that of Jeremiah (see also pp. 136 ff.). Both that and the foregoing investigation tend to establish the same conclusion; namely, that important legislative developments must be assigned to a late period in the history of Israel. The two investigations, being independent, are corroborative: they furnish instances of 'the work of continuous Divine teaching in connexion with new historical situations' (see the quotation from *OTJC*[2] on p. 18).

APPENDIX VI.

THE MEANING OF *TORAH.*

The word *Torah*, which is generally translated by 'law' in the O.T., is derived from a root *yarah*, which means *to cast* (*a lot* —Josh. xviii. 6), *to shoot* (*an arrow*—1 Sam. xx. 36). In the Hiphil form it means *to point out* (with the finger—Prov. vi. 13), *to teach* by giving directions as to conduct ('*teach* us what we shall do...' Judg. xiii. 8). *Torah*, a noun allied with this form of the verb, means *direction* or *instruction* given by one in authority.

The word is used to denote:

(1) Decisions, chiefly on matters of religious observance, given by the priests.

The opponents of Jeremiah declare that law (*Torah*, *direction*) shall not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor a word from the prophet (Jer. xviii. 18). When the prophet announces impending calamity (*vv.* 13—17) they will not give heed to his words, but maintain that the existing order will not be overthrown: the prophet will continue to declare the word of the Lord, the wise man will still offer counsel, and the priest will not cease from giving *direction* (cp. Jer. ii. 8, Ezek. vii. 26). Haggai bids the people 'ask the priests for a *direction*'; and two questions on the difference between clean and unclean follow (Hagg. ii. 11—13). Malachi declares that 'the priest's lips should keep knowledge, and the people should seek *direction* from his mouth.' In these passages the Heb. word *Torah* does not refer to a written law, the law when written

would be in the hands of both priests[1] and people; of such a written law it could be said that it would perish or be changed, but not that it would perish *from the priest*. The rendering 'the law' in A.V. and R.V. is misleading so far as it suggests reference to a written law; the reference in these passages is to verbal decisions given by the priests. Such decisions were regarded as Divine *Torah*, or 'the law of the LORD' communicated to the people through the priest's mouth. The cognate verb 'teach' (see the first paragraph in this App.) is used in Deut. xxxiii. 10; Ezek. xliv. 23; Mic. iii. 11. These passages further illustrate the meaning of *Torah*.

(2) Prophetic teaching.

The prophets in declaring the word of the Lord enunciated general rules of conduct, which were recognized as embodying Divine guidance, or in other words as being 'the law of the LORD.' Isaiah puts 'the word of the LORD' in parallelism with 'the law (*teaching* R.V. marg.) of our God' (Isai. i. 10). This Divine *direction* is contained in the verses which follow (i. 11—17), where the moral demands of a righteous God are set above burnt offerings and trampling (i. 12 R.V.) the temple courts. Hosea has in view something more than ritual precepts when he declares that the people are destroyed for lack of knowledge, and that the priests have forgotten the Divine *direction* ('the law of thy God,' Hos. iv. 6)[2]. In the vision of 'the latter days' (Is. ii. = Mic. iv.) it is promised that '*Torah* will proceed from Zion, and the word of the LORD from Jerusalem.' Here it is clear that by '*Torah*' is not meant a completed system of law written in a book. The prophets claimed to be the interpreters of God's will: His guidance is made known to His people through the living voice; and the same guidance will be

[1] Regulations for worship may have been preserved in writing, as well as transmitted orally, in priestly circles. The written law, such as that read before the king and to the people in Josiah's reign, was more general in character.

[2] In Hos. viii. 12 it is implied that some of the Divine *direction* (*Torah*) was written.

vouchsafed in the future to all nations who shall flow to Mount Zion for instruction. Then shall all be taught of God, and great shall be the peace of His children; for 'nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more' (Is. ii. 2—4 = Mic. iv. 1—3).

(3) There are other passages in which the word *Torah* is used with reference to a written code.

(*a*) In the book of Deuteronomy mention is made of 'this law' (i. 5; xxix. 29), written in a book, which is to be kept by the side of the Ark, and read to the people in the feast of tabernacles (xxx. 10; xxxi. 9—11, 24—26). The king is to have a copy, and 'read therein all the days of his life' (xvii. 18—20). This law is set before Israel just before passing over Jordan (iv. 8, 44; ix. 1), and forms the basis of the covenant made 'in the land of Moab, besides the covenant made in Horeb' (v. 2; xxix. 1). There can be no doubt that in all these passages reference is made to the Deuteronomic code contained in Deut. xii.—xxvi.

In this book, which recognizes a written law, provision is made for an extension of *Torah*. In any case of controversy (xvii. 8—13), appeal shall be made to 'the priests the Levites, and unto the judge that shall be in those days,' and the people shall do 'according to the tenor of the law (*Torah*) which they shall *teach*' (cf. xxiv. 8). It should be noted that the last official proclamation of law in the Pentateuch is not represented as final; additional *Torah* will be issued in the future when necessary.

In the Deuteronomic portions of other books, *Torah* is used to designate the law contained in Deuteronomy. In Josh. i. 7, 8, although the phrases 'all the law which Moses my servant commanded thee' and 'this book of the law' may appear general in their reference, the Deuteronomic character of the section requires that they should be interpreted in the same way as corresponding phrases in the book of Deuteronomy. The same remark may be made in respect of Josh. xxiii., where 'all that is written in the book of the law of Moses' occurs in *v.* 6; and also in respect of 'that which is written in the law of

Moses' in 1 Kings ii. 3. In 2 Kings xiv. 6 the reference in the words 'that which is written in the book of the law of Moses' is made clear by the quotation from Deut. xxiv. 16 which follows.

(*b*) In the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, 'the book of the law of Moses' (Neh. viii. 1) is the law which Ezra brought before the congregation and read to the people (viii. 2, 5, 8). It has been shewn on pp. 171 f. that this law included regulations for observing the feast of tabernacles given in Lev. xxiii. 39—43; and in Neh. x. 29 'God's law which was given by Moses the servant of God' includes precepts (referred to in *vv.* 32—39), some of which are found only in P. When the books of Chronicles were written (in the third century B.C.), the Pentateuch had been accepted practically in its present form. In them, as well as in Ezra and Nehemiah, 'the law of Moses' generally refers to the Priestly code; but in places where the narrative is dependent on an older source, as in 2 Chron. xxv. 4 (taken from 2 Kings xiv. 6), the reference is to the law contained in Deuteronomy.

(4) *Torah* is also used to denote *instructions* given for the performance of religious duties, such as sacrifice (Lev. vi. 8, 14, 24; vii. 1, 11, 37), choice of food (Lev. xi. 46, the word is not used in the parallel passage, Deut. xiv.), purification (Lev. xii. 7), and other observances (Lev. xiii. 59; xiv. 2, 32, 54, 57; xv. 32; Num. v. 29, 30; vi. 13, 21; xv. 16, 20; xix. 2, 14). It is uniformly translated *law*, 'This is the *law* of'—'the burnt offering,' 'the Nazirite,' &c.

It appears then that *Torah* is a word of very wide application, and that the expressions 'the law (*Torah*) of God,' 'the law (*Torah*) of Moses' are not always used in the same sense. In assigning a meaning to these expressions, the age and outlook of the writer must be taken into account. The compilers of Kings and Chronicles both refer to a written law of Moses, but when they specify its contents, it is clear that they refer to different codes [see above under (3 *a* and *b*)]. And 'the law of our God,' when used by Amos, Hosea, or Isaiah, means something different from either of these written codes.

APPENDIX VII.

Characteristics of Composite Documents.

The reader's attention is here directed to certain documents which are admitted to be composite. After noting the manner in which they have been compiled, he will be better able to estimate the force of the evidence for the composite character of the Hexateuch.

(1) *Mediaeval chroniclers.*

Mediaeval or monastic chronicles are for the most part the result of a long process continued in many places and ages.

The prefaces to the numerous volumes of the Rolls Series, and especially Sir Thomas Hardy's *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials*, will supply abundant illustration of this statement. It will be sufficient to quote from the volume which contains the 'Historia Anglicana' of Bartholomew de Cotton[1].

In a preface by the Rev. H. R. Luard, the method followed by the chronicler is carefully investigated.

Cotton's history is based on Roger of Wendover[2] and Matthew Paris[2], and as the chronicles of R.W. and M.P. are

[1] His history stops at the year 1298, and is one of the most important sources for the reign of Edward I.

[2] These writers will be designated for brevity by R.W. and M.P. The 'Historia Major' of M.P. is, down to the year 1235, a modified transcription of an earlier work, entitled 'Flores Historiarum,' begun by John de Cella and completed by R.W. Cotton, with both R.W. and M.P. before him, apparently takes R.W. as his basis, sometimes adopting, and sometimes disregarding, the changes made by M.P.

both in existence as separate documents, it is easy to resolve the compilation into its component sources.

Luard thinks it capable of proof that Cotton 'had the MSS. of both these chroniclers [R.W. and M.P.] before him while composing his own work, using now one and now the other' (p. xxxvii). Cotton also uses other chroniclers and 'changes are frequently made from one chronicler to another, and then back again, two or three times in the same sentence' (footnote on p. xxxvii). Instances of using more than one chronicler in the same sentence are given on p. xliii; of repetition of the same facts from different chronicles on p. xliv. The similarity between these methods of procedure, and those which, in the judgement of critics, have been pursued in combining the component sources of the Hexateuch is obvious (see, for examples, the analysis on pp. 75—81 and pp. 87—95).

On p. xlv an illustration is given of Bartholomew's use of his materials. The chronicles of R.W., M.P., and Cotton are given in parallel columns. The result of comparison is shewn in the passage from Cotton which is here appended: where the words are the same in both R.W. and M.P. ordinary type is used, words from R.W. are in *italics*, from M.P., in **thick type.**

Anno *gratiæ* 1193 rex Richardus remansit in custodia ducis Austriæ donec ipsum vendidit imperatori **Romanorum Henrico** pro sexaginta milibus **librarum** argenti.....*et tunc* feria tertia post Ramos Palmarum *ipsum* adducens, **diligentissime** custodiri fecit.

The introductory sentence is from R.W., but 'Romanorum,' 'Henrico,' and 'librarum' shew that here M.P. has been followed. At 'et tunc' the writer uses R.W., while 'diligentissime' shews that he is again indebted to M.P. The dots represent the words 'ad pondus Coloniensium,' which though found both in R.W. and M.P. have been omitted by Cotton. The whole passage is not longer than some verses of the Bible, and equivalent to two verses of average length. The resemblance of these combinations, proved by reference to the original sources,

to those proposed in the analysis of any composite narrative in the Bible, e.g. that of the Flood, is evident.

Many other illustrations of this kind may be found in the pages of monastic chroniclers. The Venerable Bede takes freely from preceding writers whatever he thinks useful for his purpose, but 'is anxious lest it should be thought that he has stolen the sayings of the elders, and given them out as his own.' He therefore begs the copyists of his works to preserve the indications which he has given in the margin of the sources from which he has borrowed; a request which they have totally ignored (Plummer, *Baedae opera historica*, tom. I. p. xxiii, where he adds in a footnote, 'A really critical edition of Bede which should show exactly how much he borrowed, and how much is original, is a great desideratum'). Here work is suggested similar to that of the critics who have endeavoured to resolve the Hexateuch into its original parts; and Plummer's notes (p. cxxxv and elsewhere) furnish instances of that criticism which he desiderates[1].

References have been made to Western chroniclers; another illustration may be supplied from an Eastern source.

(2) *The Diatessaron.*

The Diatessaron of Tatian was an attempt to supply the Christian Church with a life of Christ compiled (as its title implies) from the four separate Canonical Gospels. This composite Gospel was extensively used in the East, and at one time had practically superseded the Canonical Gospels over a large area[2]. It is now accessible to the English reader in a translation

[1] For further illustrations see *Oxf. Hex.*, vol. I. ch. I. § 2 *a*, *β*, pp. 4 f.

[2] Details with reference to the discovery of this interesting document will be found in the works quoted in the text, and in Prof. Burkitt's *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* [Gospel of the separated (books)], vol. II. pp. 2 f., and ch. IV. pp. 173 ff. See also the Art. *Diatessaron* in *DB*, extra vol. p. 451.

published by the Rev. J. Hamlyn Hill (T. and T. Clark, 1894), and in a supplementary volume to Clark's *Ante-Nicene Library* (1896—1903).

The following passage (containing the account of St Peter's denials) will give the reader an example of the manner in which all four Gospels have been combined. The vertical lines in the text indicate where the source is changed.

Jo. xviii. 15 And Simon Cephas and one of the other disciples followed Jesus. And the high priest knew that disciple, and he entered with Jesus into the
Jo. xviii. 16 court; but Simon was standing at the door without. So the other disciple, whom the high priest knew, went out and spake unto her that kept the door, and she brought in Simon. And the maid that
Jo. xviii. 17 a kept the door saw Simon, and she looked stead-
Lk. xxii. 56 fastly at him and said unto him, | Art not thou also one of the disciples of this man, I mean Jesus the
Mk. xiv. 67 Nazarene? | But he denied and said, Woman, I
Lk. xxii. 57 know him not, | neither know I even what thou
Mk. xiv. 68 sayest. | And the servants and the soldiers rose, |
Jo. xviii. 18 and made a fire in the middle of the court that
Lk. xxii. 55 a they might warm themselves; | for it was cold. | And when the fire burned up, they sat down
Jo. xviii. 18 c around it. And Simon also came and sat down
Mk. xiv. 54 with them to warm himself, | that he might see the
Mt. xxvi. 58 end of what should happen.
Jo. xviii. 19—24 And the high priest asked Jesus of his disciples and of his doctrine.....And Annas sent Jesus bound unto Caiaphas the high priest.
Jo. xviii. 25 a And Jesus went out, and Simon Cephas was standing in the outer court warming himself. | And
Mk. xiv. 69 a that maid saw him again and began to say to those
Mt. xxvi. 71 b that stood by, | This man also was there with Jesus the Nazarene. And those that stood by came
Mt. xxvi. 73 forward and said to Cephas, Truly thou art one of his disciples. | And he denied again with an oath,
Mt. xxvi. 72 I know not the man. | And after a little while one

Lk. xxii. 58 a	of the servants of the high priest, a kinsman of
Jo. xviii. 26 a	him whose ear Simon cut off saw him, | and he disputed and said, Truly this man was with him:
Lk. xxii. 59 b	and he also is a Galilæan; | and his speech resembles.
Mt. xxvi. 73 c	| And he said unto Simon, Did not I see thee with
Jo. xviii. 26 b	him in the garden? | Then Simon began to curse
Mk. xiv. 71	and to swear, I know not this man whom ye
Lk. xxii. 60 b	have mentioned. | And immediately, while he was speaking, the cock crew twice. And in that hour
Lk. xxii. 61	Jesus turned, he being without, and looked upon
Mk. xiv. 30, 72	Cephas. | And Simon remembered the word of our Lord which he said unto him, Before the cock
Mt. xxvi. 75 / Lk. xxii. 62	crow twice thou shalt deny me thrice. And Simon went forth without and wept bitterly.

It will be noted that six consecutive verses (Jo. xviii. 19—24) are found in this passage. Longer extracts also occur; thus Section I., after a short introduction from Jo. i 1—5, contains the first chapter of St Luke (without the first four verses). Section II. contains Mt. i. 18—25 and Lk. ii. 1—39. Sections XXXV.—XXXVIII. contain almost continuously Jo. vii.—xi.

This selection of extracts from one Gospel alternating with passages in which all the Gospels have been combined, has its parallel in the Hexateuch. Separate narratives assigned to JE and P alternate with composite narratives in which both sources are combined. The History of Cotton and the Diatessaron differ widely in respect of date and place of origin. The passages selected from them shew that both the western chronicler and the eastern compiler have used the materials at their disposal in a manner almost identical with that followed, according to the critical view, by the redactors of the Hexateuch. Let the reader consider the manner in which these two passages must be cut up in order to resolve them into their component elements. The proposals of critics with respect to the most complex section of the Hexateuch will seem moderate in comparison.

(3) *Arabic historians.*

Prof. Bevan, in the first of the *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, 1909, entitled *Historical Methods in the Old Testament*, has described the methods of Arabic historians, and pointed out that the phenomena which occur in the historical books of the O.T. are frequently found in Arabic literature[1]. He gives an example (pp. 14—17) of a history compiled from two earlier sources, where the compiler bases his narrative on one source, and incorporates passages from the other. The Arabic historian uses his sources in a manner similar to that in which Cotton uses R.W. and M.P. The concluding paragraph (p. 19) is here given; but the whole Essay should be consulted.

'Thus it will be seen that a comparison of the historical methods employed by the Israelites on the one hand and by the Arabs on the other, while it reveals certain characteristic divergences in matters of detail, tends on the whole to demonstrate a striking similarity. And when we consider that our information respecting the literary history of the Arabs is vastly superior, both in abundance and in accuracy, to the information which we possess concerning the literary history of the ancient Hebrews, it will appear evident that for the elucidation of the historical portions of the Old Testament the comparative study of the two literatures is of inestimable value. But apart from this positive gain the comparison is especially to be recommended as serving to put us on our guard against the popular fallacy which consists in judging the writers of the Old Testament by modern European standards, in assuming, for instance, that a narrative which seems, at first sight, to be continuous must necessarily emanate from one author and be of uniform authority throughout. Such delusions are not dispelled by abstract reasoning; they can be dispelled only by the patient investigation of facts.'

[1] Cp. *OTJC*[2], p. 328.

(4) *The Gospels, and the Old Testament.*

The Synoptic Gospels afford conclusive evidence—quite apart from theories about their order—that, while each Gospel contains matter peculiar to itself, many passages have been taken by one evangelist from another, or from a common source; and that these passages have been taken, sometimes with, and sometimes without alteration, and sometimes have been introduced in a different connexion.

The Old Testament itself affords evidence equally conclusive that the writers of the books combined the work of others with their own. Some incidents are recorded in more than one place: e.g. parts of Josh. xv.—xvii. are found[1] in Judg. i.; the account of Sennacherib's invasion in the reign of Hezekiah is given in 2 Kings xviii., xix., and in Isai. xxxvi., xxxvii.; other incidents in Hezekiah's life in 2 Kings xx., and in Isai. xxxviii., xxxix. A full account of the siege of Jerusalem is given in 2 Kings xxiv. 18 ff., and in Jer. lii., and a shorter account in Jer. xxxix. 1—10. 2 Sam. xxii. is found with a few verbal differences in Ps. xviii. In all these instances where the same account is found in two writers, either one has taken it from the other, or both have taken it from a third source. The books in which such borrowed accounts are found are *composite.*

The historians of the O.T. must have derived their information about events which happened some centuries before their time from oral tradition, or from official or private records. They have arranged the materials which they collected, and edited them with comments. Especially is this to be noted in the book of Judges, where the old memoirs are set in a framework of instructive description, which can easily be separated from the history. For details consult Driver, *LOT*[8], on Judges, and the commentaries.

[1] Judg. i. 10—15, 20=Josh. xv. 13—19; Judg. i. 21=Josh. xv. 63; Judg. i. 27, 28=Josh. xvii. 11—13; Judg. i. 29=Josh. xvi. 10.

(5) *Comparison of Chronicles with parallel accounts in Samuel and Kings.*

This composite character of the historical books can be clearly traced in the books of Chronicles, when compared with those of Samuel and Kings[1]. These books contain two accounts of the period from the death of Saul to the captivity of Judah; one in 1 Sam. xxxi., 2 Sam., and the books of Kings; the other in 1 Chron. x.—2 Chron. xxxvi. A comparison of these accounts not only shews the parts which are due to the compilers, but affords valuable evidence bearing on the composition of the Hexateuch.

In some parts, the two accounts are almost identical; e.g. the death of Saul as related in 1 Sam. xxxi. and 1 Chron. x. (but note the two additional verses in 1 Chron. x. 13, 14); the numbering of the people and the punishment following [but contrast 'the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel...' (2 Sam. xxiv. 1) with 'Satan stood up against Israel...' (1 Chron. xxi. 1)]. 1 Chron. xxii.—xxix. has no parallel in the books of Samuel or Kings; to David is here assigned the division of the sons of Aaron and of the Levites into courses; the appointment of musicians and singers, doorkeepers, captains, and judges. In other chapters, the variations, though in some verses small, are significant, as will appear from the examination of the following passages[2]:

[1] 'When we compare the Arabic historians with one another, we find that they differ precisely as the book of Chronicles differs from Samuel and Kings. Sometimes the same passage, extending over several pages, appears in two or more authors, but in such cases we almost invariably find a certain number of variants. At other times, particularly in the later Arabic historians, we come upon what may be called patch-work narratives, consisting of short passages borrowed (with or without modification) from older works and fitted together by the compiler, who, of course, usually intersperses remarks of his own.' Prof. Bevan, p. 13 of the Essay referred to on p. 265.

[2] The important variations in Chronicles are either enclosed in

(*a*) *The removal of the ark to Mount Zion.*

The account in 2 Sam. vi. contains 23 verses, of which only 19 and a short clause are found in Chronicles, but, with the additions there incorporated, it is expanded to four chapters (1 Chron. xiii.—xvi.).

Notice in 1 Chron. xiii. 2 the reference to 'the priests and Levites,' and the 'suburbs' of the priestly cities (a technical term used in Num. xxxv. 2—7).

2 Sam. vi.	1 Chron. xiii.
1 And David again gathered together all the chosen men of Israel, thirty thousand.	1 And David consulted with the captains of thousands and of hundreds, even with every leader. 2 And David said.... Let us send abroad everywhere unto our brethren...*with whom the priests and Levites are in their cities which have suburbs*,... 3 and let us bring again the ark of our God unto us: for we sought not unto it in the days of Saul. 4 ..... 5 So David assembled all Israel together.....
2 And David arose....	6 And David went up....

[*The two accounts are almost in the same words as far as the end of* 2 Sam. vi. 11=1 Chron. xiii. 14.]

11 ...and the LORD blessed Obed-edom and all his house.	14 ...and the LORD blessed the house of Obed-edom and all that he had.

[2 Sam. v. 11—25=1 Chron. xiv[1].]

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brackets, or printed in *italics*. The reader's attention is especially directed to the words in *italics* in the following parallel accounts.

[1] With many verbal differences, some of which (as *God* for *Jehovah*) shew the Chronicler's hand.

[1 Chron. xv. 1—24 *contains the names of the Levites who bare the ark, and of the singers and players who escorted the ark.*]

12 And David went and brought up the ark of God from the house of Obed-edom into the city of David with joy.

13 And it was so that when they that bare the ark of the LORD had gone six paces, he sacrificed an ox and a fatling.

14 And David danced before the LORD with all his might; and David was girded with a linen ephod.

15 So David and all the house of Israel brought up the ark of the LORD with shouting and with the sound of the trumpet.

16 And it was so, as the ark of the Lord came into the city of David, that Michal the daughter of Saul looked out at the window and saw king David leaping and dancing[1] before the LORD; and she despised him in her heart.

25 And David [and the elders of Israel and the captains over thousands] *were going to* bring up the ark of [the covenant of] the LORD from the house of Obed-edom with joy:

26 and it was so that when *God helped the Levites* that bare the ark of [the covenant of] the LORD, *they* sacrificed *seven bullocks and seven rams.*

27 And David was clothed with a robe of fine linen, *and all the Levites that bare the ark, and the singers, and Chenaniah the master of the song* with *the singers;* and David had upon him a linen ephod.

28 Thus all Israel brought up the ark of [the covenant of] the LORD with shouting, and with sound of [the cornet, and with] trumpets [and with cymbals, sounding aloud with psalteries and harps].

29 And it came to pass as the ark of [the covenant of] the LORD came to the city of David, that Michal the daughter of Saul looked out at the window and saw king David dancing[1] and playing; and she despised him in her heart.

[1] The Heb. words in Sam. and Chron. are different: that in Chron. is 'skipping,' as Ps. cxiv. 6.

[2 Sam. vi. 17—19=1 Chron. xvi. 1—3 *with slight verbal differences as far as the middle of* 2 Sam. vi. 19=1 Chron. xvi. 3.]

19 ...a portion of flesh, and a cake of raisins (flagon of wine, A.V.).

3 ...a portion of flesh, and a cake of raisins (flagon of wine, A.V.).

4 And he appointed *certain of the Levites* to minister before the ark....

[*Then follow*:]

A psalm (*vv.* 8—36)[1]; *and further arrangements for singing and offering sacrifice* (*vv.* 37—42).

19 And all the people departed every man to his house. 20 And David returned to bless his house.

20—23 [The rest of 2 Sam. vi., containing *Michal's remonstrance with David and his answer, is omitted in Chronicles.*]

43 And all the people departed every man to his house: and David turned back to bless his house.

(*b*) *The two accounts of Joash being hidden for six years in the house of the Lord, and in the seventh year anointed king.*

2 Kings xi. 1—3=2 Chron. xxii. 10—12.

[*How Joash was hidden for six years.*]

4 And in the seventh year Jehoiada sent and fetched the captains over hundreds, of the Carites, and of the guard, and brought them to him into the house of the LORD, and he made a covenant with them,

xxiii. 1. And in the seventh year Jehoiada strengthened himself, and took the captains of hundreds, *Azariah the son of Jeroham*,...

and Elishaphat the son of Zichri, into covenant with him.

8 And they went about in Judah and *gathered the Levites out of all the cities of Judah, and the heads of*

[1] This psalm is composed of Pss. cv. 1—15, xcvi. 1—13, and cvi. 47, 48, with slight verbal differences.

and took an oath of them in the house of the LORD, and shewed them the king's son.

5 And he commanded them, saying, This is the thing that ye shall do: a third part of you, that come in on the sabbath, shall be keepers of the watch of the king's house; 6 and a third part shall be at the gate Sur[1]; and a third part at the gate behind the guard: so shall ye keep the watch of the house, and be a barrier.

7 And the two companies of you, even all that go forth on the sabbath, shall keep the watch of the house of the LORD about the king.

8 And ye shall compass the king round about, every man with his weapons in his hand; and whosoever cometh within the ranks, let him be slain: and be ye with the king when he goeth out, and when he cometh in.

9 And the captains over hundreds did according to all that

fathers' houses of Israel, and they came to Jerusalem. 3 And *all the congregation* made a covenant with the king in the house of God. And he said unto them, Behold, the king's son shall reign, as the LORD hath spoken concerning the sons of David.

4 This is the thing that ye shall do: a third part of you, that come in on the sabbath, *of the priests and of the Levites*, shall be porters of the doors; 5 and a third part shall be at the king's house; and a third part at the gate of the foundation[1]: and all the people shall be in *the courts of* the house of the LORD. 6 *But let none come into the house of the LORD, save the priests, and they that minister of the Levites; they shall come in, for they are holy:* but all the people shall keep the watch of the LORD.

7 And *the Levites* shall compass the king round about, every man with his weapons in his hand; and whosoever cometh *into the house*, let him be slain: and be ye with the king when he cometh in, and when he goeth out.

8 And *the Levites* and all Judah did according to all that Jehoiada

[1] The Heb. words for 'Sur' and 'foundation' are much alike; and the Heb. word for 'horse' is like both. It has been conjectured that 'the horse gate' is the right reading here. Cp. 2 Kings xi. 16 and 2 Chron. xxiii. 15.

Jehoiada the priest commanded: and they took every man his men, those that were to come in on the sabbath, with those that were to go out on the sabbath, and came to Jehoiada the priest.

the priest commanded: and they took every man his men, those that were to come in on the sabbath, with those that were to go out on the sabbath; *for* Jehoiada the priest *dismissed not the courses.*

2 Kings xi. 10—20 = 2 Chron. xxiii. 9—21.

[*The coronation of Joash, and death of Athaliah.*]

The last clause of *v.* 18.

And the priest appointed officers [Heb. *offices*] over the house of the LORD.

18 And Jehoiada appointed the offices *of* the house of the LORD *under the hand of the priests the Levites, whom David had distributed in the house of the* LORD, *to offer the burnt offerings of the* LORD, *as it is written in the law of Moses, with rejoicing and with singing, according to the order of David.*

19 *And he set the porters at the gates of the house of the* LORD, *that none which was unclean in anything should enter in.*

19 And he took the captains of hundreds, and the Carites, and the guard,
and all the people of the land....

20 And he took the captains of hundreds, *and the nobles, and the governors of the people,* and all the people of the land....

A comparison of the accounts in the two columns shews clearly (1) that the Chronicler was acquainted with the books of Kings and used them as one of his sources, (2) that the additional matter in Chronicles refers to the action of priests and Levites, and the arrangement of services, and shews acquaintance with the enactments of the Priestly code. The absence of these passages from the parallel account in Kings is very remarkable; especially when it is remembered that the compiler of Kings is interested

in the conduct of Divine worship, and describes the dedication of the Temple, and the Passover in Josiah's reign. There is no reason for supposing that he would have left out the details supplied by the Chronicler, if they had been known to him. The inference which has already been drawn on p. 153 seems warranted; viz. that the additional matter in Chronicles, implying acquaintance with the Priestly code, was not known to the compiler of Kings; the comparisons here set forth materially strengthen that inference[1].

(6) *A comparison between the Hebrew and LXX.*

But, it may be said, there is at least one passage in Kings which evinces a clear acquaintance with the language of the Priestly code—1 Kings viii. 1—5, which speaks of priests and Levites, and uses other phrases characteristic of P. This is true, as far as the present text is concerned. But it is almost certain that these phrases are no part of the original account. The LXX., our oldest authority for the text of the O.T., does not contain the phrases in question. The passage is here given as in R.V., which is an exact translation of the present Hebrew text; the portions which are not in brackets give the LXX. version. They form a connected narrative, which, in comparison with the Hebrew, is brief, and contains none of the expressions characteristic of P. In the bracketed portions, the phrases which indicate acquaintance with P are in *italics*. The reader may notice the style of P in a certain *fulness of expression*, especially in the last clause of *v.* 4.

[1] The whole of the parts common to Kings and Chronicles will be found arranged in parallel columns in *The parallel history of the Jewish Monarchy*, by R. Somervel. The reader is recommended to make the comparison with the help of this work, or if he prefers, to find out the variations for himself.

1 Then Solomon assembled the elders of Israel, [and all *the heads of the tribes, the princes of the fathers' houses* of the children of Israel, unto king Solomon in Jerusalem,] to bring up the ark of the covenant of the LORD out of the city of David, which is Zion. 2[And all the men of Israel assembled themselves unto king Solomon at the feast,] in the month Ethanim, [which is the seventh month.] 3[And all the elders of Israel came,] and the priests took up the ark. 4[And they brought up the ark of the LORD,] and the tent of meeting, and [all] the holy vessels that were in the Tent; [even these did *the priests and the Levites* bring up.] 5 And (the) king [Solomon] and all [*the congregation of*] Israel, [that were assembled unto him,] were [with him] before the ark, sacrificing sheep and oxen, that could not be [told nor] numbered [for multitude].

These two versions of the dedication of the Temple bear a striking resemblance to the duplicate accounts in Kings and Chronicles which have already been examined; those of the removal of the ark to Mt Zion, and the coronation of king Joash. All the three narratives have been preserved in two forms: (1) a comparatively brief account, in which no trace of P can be observed; (2) a more detailed account, which shews acquaintance with the ideas and phraseology of the Priestly code. Is not the inference amply justified, that in 1 Kings viii. 1—5, the same revision in a priestly spirit[1] of an already existing narrative may be traced, which has already been illustrated from the books of Chronicles?

The account in 2 Chron. v. 2—6, parallel to that in 1 Kings viii. 1—5, is almost identical. There was no need for the Chronicler to amend the narrative; that had already been done. In one particular, however, he found an opportunity. He substitutes in *v.* 3 [=1 Ki. viii. 3] *the Levites* for *the priests*, in accordance with the provisions of the Priestly code.

The four verses following 2 Chron. v. 7—10 are the same as 1 Kings viii. 6—9, but the variation in the following verses should be noticed:

[1] This revision, however, had not been introduced into the MSS. which the LXX. translators used.

1 Kings viii. 10, 11.	2 Chron. v. 11—14.
10 And it came to pass, when the priests were come out of the holy place,	11 And it came to pass, when the priests were come out of the holy place, (for all the priests that were present had sanctified themselves... 12 also the Levites... and with them an hundred and twenty priests sounding with trumpets:) 13 it came even to pass,...when they lifted up their voice...and praised the LORD, saying, For he is good; for his mercy endureth for ever: that the house was filled with a cloud, even the house of the LORD,
that the cloud filled the house of the LORD,	
11 so that the priests could not stand to minister by reason of the cloud: for the glory of the LORD filled the house of the LORD.	14 so that the priests could not stand to minister by reason of the cloud: for the glory of the LORD filled the house of the LORD.

The whole comparison (of the Hebrew and LXX. in 1 Kings[1] viii. 1—5, and of Kings and Chronicles in 1 Kings viii. 10, 11, and 2 Chron. v. 11—14) shews that *two* revisions of an original text have been made.

(7) *Passages in the books of Samuel.*

The comparison of the LXX. and M.T. in 1 Kings viii. has shewn that, in the process of the transmission of the text, additions were made to its original form. The fact that these additions refer to the action of the Levites, and contain phrases characteristic of the Priestly code is sufficient warrant for enquiring whether similar references elsewhere may not prove to be supplementary revision of an earlier text.

[1] This is the only passage in Kings which contains a reference to the Levites.

Levites are mentioned only in two places in the books of Samuel (1 Sam. vi. 15, 2 Sam. xv. 24). As regards the first passage, it has already been pointed out (p. 193) that *v.* 15 does not appear to be an appropriate sequel to what precedes. It also repeats the statement in the previous verse, that the men of Bethshemesh offered a burnt offering. Its similarity to some of those verses which are clearly additions made by the Chronicler strengthen the probability that it is not part of the original text. The view of Baudissin, *DB*, vol. IV. p. 74 *a*, that the verse is 'manifestly interpolated,' is now generally adopted.

There remains 2 Sam. xv. 24. The commentaries of Driver, *Books of Samuel*, p. 244, H. P. Smith, *I.C.C. Samuel*, p. 344, and the notes in *QPB* shew that the text of *vv.* 23, 24 is corrupt, and cannot be translated without some emendations; and *vv.* 27, 29 afford some ground for supposing that Zadok and Abiathar may have been closer together in the original text of *v.* 24. It is extremely doubtful whether this verse can be accepted as evidence that the writer of Samuel described the Levites as accompanying Zadok on this occasion.

The reader who has followed the argument in this section may now be disposed to assign greater weight to the objections raised against 1 Sam. ii. 22 *b* on p. 194.

It appears, then, that there is no undisputed reference to the Priestly code, either in the books of Samuel, or in the books of Kings.

APPENDIX VIII.

The Samaritan Pentateuch.

Reference has sometimes been made to the history of the Samaritan Pentateuch, as furnishing a strong and convincing argument against the conclusions of modern criticism. It has been alleged:

(1) That the old script in which the Samaritan Pentateuch is written was changed by Ezra for the square character now in use.

(2) That the Samaritan Pentateuch must have existed before the time of Ezra.

(3) That the feud between the Jews and the Samaritans, dating from the rebuilding of the Temple, must have prevented the Samaritans from accepting any additions to their copies in the time of Ezra.

In order to test the accuracy of these allegations, it will be necessary to lay before the reader certain facts with reference to (1) the Samaritan Pentateuch, (2) the change of script, (3) the relations between the Samaritans and the Jews before the establishment of the rival temple on Mount Gerizim.

The copies of the Pentateuch preserved in the Samaritan community at Shechem (Nablus, Neapolis) are written in a script of the same type as the old Hebrew characters, which are very different from those now used in printed Hebrew Bibles. This earlier script is generally known as Phoenician; the oldest form of it known to us is on the Moabite stone (*c.* 850 B.C.). A Hebrew modification of this alphabet is preserved in the Siloam

inscription, discovered in 1880, and assigned to the reign of Hezekiah (*c.* 700 B.C.). Many Phoenician inscriptions, of dates varying from the sixth century B.C. to the second century A.D., have been discovered; the alphabet is also found on old seals and gems, both Phoenician and Jewish; and on Jewish coins from the time of Simon the Maccabee (141—135 B.C.) to that of Simon bar-Kokba (132—135 A.D.).

This early Heb. script was afterwards supplanted by a script known as the 'square' character, a description which any one who examines the letters in Heb. MSS., or in printed Hebrew Bibles, will recognize as exact. But it must not be assumed that this script sprang suddenly into existence, and took the place of the old Hebrew letters. The forms of the letters now in use are Aramaic in origin, and are the result of a long development reaching back as far as the eighth century B.C. The earliest forms are similar to the Phoenician; and those who are interested in tracing the gradual change of form in the letters of this alphabet may consult Euting's table of Semitic characters in Bickell's *Outlines of Hebrew Grammar*, or Lidzbarski's table in Ges.-Kautzsch, *Heb. Grammar*[28] (1910).

From these tables it will be seen that forms of this script which approximate to the Hebrew square character were used in Egypt on the S.W., and Palmyra on the N.E. of Palestine. It seems probable that at first the new characters were employed by the Jews in intercourse with their neighbours, and gradually became current in Judæa for ordinary purposes. The two styles existed at first side by side, and the new script slowly displaced the more antique form.

The inscription[1] at Arak-el-Amir (E. of the Jordan near Heshbon), though containing only five letters, affords an excellent illustration of the co-existence of the two styles. The

[1] For details about this inscription see Driver, *Notes on the Heb. text of Sam.*, p. xxii, and about Hyrcanus, the passage in Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 4, 11) there referred to; or Lidzbarski, *Handb. der Nordsem. Epigraphik*, p. 484, and Table XLIII. 1. The inscription is not earlier than 176 B.C.

first letter is an *Ayin* of the Phoenician type; the other letters exhibit an early stage of the transition towards the square character. This short inscription is an epitome of a long process; each letter seems to have contended with its newer rival, but the simplicity of the Phoenician *Ayin* secured for it a longer pre-eminence.

The inscription[1] over the entrance to the so-called Tomb of St James on the Mount of Olives, shews a distinct advance towards the final form of the square character. The upper lines of the letters *Beth* and *Resh* still retain traces of the curvature which is found in the older forms, and Palmyrene influence may perhaps be detected in the ligatures which are occasionally introduced. Though the 'square' character of the letters is not so decidedly apparent as in the modern form, yet the transition from the old to the new script is accomplished. The inscription belongs to the first century B.C.

The first of these inscriptions belongs to an early, the second to a late stage in the development of the square character. The palaeographical evidence points to the second century B.C. as the period during which the new script obtained supremacy. The square character was established at the Christian era, and probably some time before; for the words of the Gospel ('one *jot* or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law,' Matt. v. 18) imply that when these words were spoken, the law was written in characters of which the letter *Yod* was the smallest. In the Egyptian papyri and Palmyrene inscriptions the *Yod* is small, as in the modern character; but in the old Hebrew script the *Yod* is as large as any other letter in the alphabet.

But according to Jewish tradition, the square character was introduced at a much earlier date than the second century B.C. In the Jerusalem and Babylonian recensions of the Talmud, and in other Jewish writings, it is asserted that Ezra, when he

[1] A full description with facsimile will be found in Driver, pp. xxiii, xxiv: cp. G. A. Cooke, *North-Sem. Inscr.*, pp. 341 f.; Lidzbarski, p. 485, and Table XLIII. 3.

came up from Babylon, changed the old style of writing, and devised the letters now in use. The Christian fathers, Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, and Epiphanius, make similar statements; and it is mainly on their testimony that Ezra has been regarded by Christians as the authority responsible for the introduction of the newer script. But as these fathers only reproduce the Jewish tradition, it is unnecessary to quote them here[1]. It will be sufficient to examine the sources of this Jewish tradition in order to ascertain whether it has any historical value. In so doing, it is essential to arrange the evidence as far as possible in chronological order.

The following passage in Talm. Bab., Zebachim 62 *a*, is given on the authority of R. Eliezer[2] ben Jacob (1st cent. A.D.):

> Three prophets went up from the captivity with them [the people who returned]; one who testified concerning the altar and the place of the altar; another who testified that they might bring offerings although there was no house [i.e. although the temple had been destroyed]; and a third who testified concerning the *Torah* that it should be written in the Assyrian [i.e. square] character.

The three prophets are contemporary; and the time when they testified is fixed by the words 'although there was no house.' The Temple had not yet been rebuilt; so their testimony was delivered before 516 B.C., about 60 years before the coming of Ezra. It is quite clear that if this form of the tradition be accepted, Ezra had nothing to do with the introduction of the square character.

It may also be inferred that the change of script had been effected long before the time of R. Eliezer. About the middle of the first century A.D. the square character had been already in use for so long a time, that the manner of its introduction

[1] The passages are given in Ryle, *Can. of O.T.*[2], pp. 96 f.

[2] R. Eliezer survived the destruction of Jerusalem, and gives particulars about the sacrifices and the Temple. His statements are described by Jewish writers as 'brief and trustworthy.'

had been forgotten. The reference to a nameless prophet in Rabbinic literature may generally be interpreted as a confession of ignorance. All that can safely be asserted is that R. Eliezer believed that the new characters were introduced at the Return, and that they must, of course, have been introduced by some one in authority. He would not have omitted his name, if it had been known to him.

Another form of the tradition is found, with variations, in Sanhedrin 21 *b*, Jer. Megilla 71 *b*, and Tosephta Sanhedrin (*Zuckermandel* p. 421, line 23).

> Mar Zutra, or if you prefer to say so, Mar Uḳba[1] said: At first the Law (*Torah*) was given to Israel in Hebrew writing[2], and in the holy tongue[3]. It was again given to them in the days of Ezra in the Assyrian[4] writing and in the Aramaic tongue. Israel chose for themselves the Assyrian writing and the holy tongue, and left to the common people[5] the Hebrew writing and the Aramaic tongue. Who are the common people? Rab Ḥisdah said, The Cuthaeans[6]. What is the Hebrew writing? Rab Ḥisdah said, Libonaah[7]. It is a teaching[8]; R. Jose[9] said: Ezra was worthy that the Law should have been given by his hand to Israel, if Moses had not come before him.

[1] A phrase used in introducing a passage of uncertain authorship. Mar Zutra belongs to the 5th, Mar Uḳba to the 3rd century A.D. The writer who refers to them must of course be later than Mar Zutra. Rab Ḥisdah died *c.* 309 A.D.

[2] The old script. [3] Hebrew. [4] The square character.

[5] The Greek word ἰδιώτης was adopted by the Jews to denote the 'unlearned' (1 Cor. xiv. 16, 23, 24). Here it is applied to the Samaritans.

[6] The men of Cuth (2 Kings xvii. 30), the name generally given by the Jews to the Samaritans.

[7] The meaning of this word is very obscure, and need not be discussed here.

[8] With this formula a Baraitha, i.e. a teaching not included in the Mishnah, is generally introduced (see Bacher, *Terminologie der Jüd. Trad.-literatur*, p. 238).

[9] R. Jose ben Ḥalaphta belongs to the second century A.D.

R. Jose goes on to compare Moses and Ezra: in the two texts, 'And Moses *went up* unto God' (Exod. xix. 3), and 'Ezra *went up* from Babylon' (Ezra vii. 6), a 'going up' is recorded, and in each case the going up was for the purpose of teaching Israel the Law. Deut. iv. 14, 'to teach you statutes,' and Ezra vii. 10, 'to teach in Israel statutes,' are quoted to shew this. Then follows:

> And although the Law was not given by his (Ezra's) hand, the writing was changed (*nishtannah*) by his hand, as it is said (Ezra iv. 7): 'And the writing of the letter (*nishtĕwān*) was written in the Syrian character, and set forth in the Syrian tongue' ['Aramaic' R.V. marg. for 'Syrian' in both places].

Two more passages are quoted: 'They could not read the writing, nor make known to the king the interpretation' (Dan. v. 8), and 'He shall write him a copy[1] of this law,' i.e. as the term used is explained in the note, a writing destined to be 'changed' (Deut. xvii. 18). A reason is given why the script was called Assyrian,—it was so called 'because it came up with them [the exiles] from Assyria.' Then follows another Baraitha in the name of R. Jehuda han-Nasi', to whom the compilation of the Mishnah is ascribed (*c.* 200 A.D.):

[1] Heb. *mishneh*, here interpreted as though it meant, or implied, *something to be changed*. The Heb. root *shānāh* means to *change*, as well as to *repeat*, or *double* (hence *duplicate*, or *copy*). Here, and in the passage from Zech. quoted by R. Jehuda, the word *mishneh*, which is rightly translated 'copy' in Deut., and 'double' in Zech., is explained in Rabbinic fashion as though it meant, or implied, some kind of *change*. The same thought of *change* explains the quotation from Daniel which precedes; they could not read the writing, because it (i.e. the characters) had been *changed*. But a few lines further on (just after the passage quoted in the text) another Rabbi gives an entirely different explanation of their inability to read the writing; he supposes an interchange of *letters* (called 'Gematria,' see Rabb. Lex. s.v.), and not a change from one *script* to another.

Rabbi[1] says: The Law was given in the Assyrian script; when they sinned it was changed to *Ro'aẓ*[2], and when they *changed* their ways in the days of Ezra it was *changed*[3] [back again] to the Assyrian script. As it is said: 'Turn you to the stronghold ye prisoners of hope: even to day do I declare that I will render double (see note on p. 282) unto thee' (Zech. ix. 12). Why is it called Assyrian (*'ashshurith*)? Because it is straight (*me'ushshār*) in writing[4]. R. Simeon ben Eleazar says in the name of R. Eleazar ben Parta, who says in the name of Eleazar of Modin[5]: This writing has not been changed at all, for it is said: 'The hooks[6] of the pillars' (Exod. xxvii. 10); as the pillars have not been changed, neither have the hooks been changed. And [the scripture] says: 'And to the Jews according to their writing, and according to their language' (Esther viii. 9); as their language has not changed, neither has their writing been changed.

Three different opinions are recorded in these extracts with reference to the change of script:

(1) That there was *no* change.

(Eleazar of Modin, *c.* 130 A.D.)

(2) That there was *one* change from the old Hebrew to the square, or Assyrian.

(Mar Uḳba of the third, or
Mar Zutra of the fifth, century A.D.)

[1] R. Jehuda is generally so called, without mention of name, in the Talmud.

[2] For the meaning of this word, the exact vocalization of which is uncertain, the Rabbinic Lexicons must be consulted. The word is sometimes read *Da'aẓ*. It is a name for the old Hebrew character.

[3] A play on another word meaning to *turn* or *change*.

[4] A fanciful etymology for 'Assyrian,' deriving it from אשר to *make straight*.

[5] In the first part of the 2nd century A.D.

[6] The Heb. word for 'hooks' is the same as for the letter 'Wau'; and the passage is interpreted as meaning that the letter 'Wau' in the Heb. script had not been changed.

(3) That there were *two* changes, from the square to the old Hebrew, and back again to the square.

(R. Jehuda, at the end of the second century A.D.)

Two teachers agree in assigning *a* change to the time of Ezra; but in the first extract (above p. 280) R. Eliezer (first century A.D.) attributes the change to a prophet who came back before the Temple was rebuilt.

From the variety of opinion here expressed by teachers from the first to the fifth century A.D., it seems clear that they possessed no trustworthy historical tradition about the change of script, and that the tradition assigning it to Ezra is later than the first century A.D. The same inference may be drawn from the manner in which these Rabbis support their statements. They appeal to Scripture. In one case, that of R. Simeon, reference is made to the teaching of a former generation. His words are based on those of Eleazar of Modin, an authority in the early part of the second century. In the other passages no such claim is made. Now when a Rabbinic teacher advances an opinion, and bases it upon Scriptural references, he is not recording a tradition, but expressing an opinion, and the value of his opinion is exactly equal to the value of the argument founded on the passages of Scripture which are quoted. The arguments based on the quotations in the second extract (there are no quotations in the first extract) are ingenious, but of no value. They are interesting as specimens of that haggadic treatment of Scripture which is characteristic of Rabbinical exegesis; but they *prove* nothing. The first four passages cited by R. Jose (Exod. xix. 3; Ezr. vii. 6, 10; Deut. iv. 14) shew a verbal similarity between Ezra's work and that of Moses, and may be taken as confirming the estimate of Ezra expressed in the paragraph immediately preceding them. But they say absolutely nothing about Ezra having altered the character in which the law was written. The next three passages (Ezra iv. 7, Dan. v. 8, Deut. xvii. 18) have no connexion with Ezra at all; and can only be supposed to refer to a *change* of script, either

arbitrarily, (Dan. v. 8) or (Ezra iv. 7, Deut. xvii. 18) by a most fanciful play upon words (see note 1 on p. 282, and the remarks in the following paragraphs). The same may be said of the remaining two quotations (Zech. ix. 12; Exod. xxvii. 10).

The reader may have already noticed that the Scripture quotations when rendered literally[1] have no direct bearing on the point under discussion. But in each passage there are some words which, by being derived from a different Heb. root, may be understood to express the idea of *change*. When the reader understands this, he will realize why the passages have been quoted.

In Ezra iv. 7 the word for 'letter' *nishtĕwān*, which is really a Persian word, suggested the Heb. word *nishtannah* 'was changed'; and hence the passage was supposed (quite wrongly) to refer to a change of script! After this, it is hardly worth pointing out that the verse occurs in the account of an incident with which Ezra had no connexion.

The Heb. word *mishneh*, which occurs in Deut. xvii. 18 and Zech. ix. 12, has, by a similar play upon words, been explained as conveying the idea of 'change.' An ancient Rabbinic commentary on Num. and Deut. called Sifrê says on Deut. xvii. 18: 'Why is the expression "*mishneh* of the law" used? Because it was destined to be *changed* (*hishtannoth*).' There was a tradition that the expression 'a copy (*mishneh*) of this law' contained a hint that the script of the law would be changed, and this is the reason why the passages from Deut. and Zech. are cited here.

None of these proposals can be accepted even as possible translations, still less can they be preferred to the literal renderings of the English versions. They were prompted by an exuberant fancy which regarded Scripture as a mirror in which all possible forms of thought were reflected; reverence for their Bible led the Jewish teachers to find in it reasons for

[1] The R.V. renderings of these passages have been given; and there can be no doubt that they are accurate translations.

all their beliefs; but their quotations of Scripture must be regarded as *reminders* of accepted facts or proposed opinions, rather than *proofs*. They have no argumentative value, and cannot be accepted as establishing a conclusion.

This discussion on the change of script has been put before the reader in full, as it occurs in the Talmud, in order that he may form his own estimate of its value. Extracts from this discussion are often given in text-books and introductions, and especially the portion which refers to Ezra. When that portion is read apart from its context, an impression may be produced that there is some basis for the statement; but when the *whole* discussion has been considered, its unhistoric character plainly appears. More than six centuries after the Return, a statement is made concerning Ezra, which is based only on haggadic treatment of Scripture; and in the century before that statement is made, a Rabbinic teacher of high repute gives a different version of the story, which practically contradicts it. The inference is obvious: in the first century A.D. the Ezra legend had not come to the birth.

On general grounds the story is in the highest degree improbable. The modern student who can now trace the development of different alphabets through the centuries knows that a change of script is not the work of one man. A short study of the tables referred to on p. 278 is sufficient to establish the fact that the change in Semitic writing was gradual. An alphabet is not like a dynasty, it cannot be overthrown in a single battle.

The story of Ezra and the change of script cannot then be accepted as historical because:

(1) the patristic testimony is entirely dependent on Jewish sources;

(2) the earliest mention of Ezra in connexion with this change is 600 years after his time;

(3) in the earliest form of the tradition, the change is not ascribed to Ezra, and the different versions of the story do not agree together;

(4) it is in the highest degree improbable that a change of script was imposed by authority, and at a specific time. Nothing short of the clearest historical evidence could make such a statement credible;

(5) the arguments adduced in support of the change are *verbal*, and of no value[1].

The Jews after the Return probably continued to use the script which they took with them into captivity. An Aramaic atmosphere surrounded them from the time they set foot again in their native land; under its influence they were led gradually to adopt the language of their neighbours, as well as their mode of writing[2].

The bearing of this discussion on Pentateuch criticism will appear from what follows.

When, in the early part of the seventeenth century, copies of the Samaritan Pentateuch written in the old Hebrew characters were first brought to Europe, attention was again drawn to the fact that the Jews had, at some time in the past, changed their style of writing. In reliance on the patristic testimony referred to on p. 280 it was assumed that this change had been introduced by Ezra; and that from and after the Return, the text of the Pentateuch had been continuously written in the square character. This reading of past history influenced the judgement passed on the newly discovered MSS. As they were written in the old script, it was assumed that they were based on copies made before the script was altered. Such copies would have been preserved, not by the Jewish

[1] They have been laid before the reader in the preceding pages.

[2] 'Do not for a moment suppose that the Jews lost the use of Hebrew in the Babylonian captivity, and brought back with them into Palestine this so-called Chaldee. The Aramean dialect, which gradually got the upper hand since the fourth or fifth century B.C., did not come that long journey across the Syrian desert; it was *there*, on the spot; and it ended by taking possession of the field' (Wright, *Compar. Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, p. 16). May this caution be applied to the script as well as to the language?

community, but by the Samaritans. Hence the conclusion was drawn, that in the Samaritan Pentateuch a new and independent witness to the state of the text before the exile had been found. At that time the difference between pre-exilic and post-exilic evidence for the text had no special significance: the existence of the Pentateuch in its present form before the captivity, and even earlier, in the days of the northern kingdom, had not been seriously questioned. When Pentateuch criticism reached the 'historical[1]' stage of its development, and the Priestly code in its present form was assigned to a period after the Return, it became of primary importance to bring forward, if possible, some witness to the existence of that code before the exile. It was maintained with confidence, that the Samaritan Pentateuch was the witness required, and that it afforded a convincing proof that a post-exilic date for the Priestly code was impossible.

Now it must be noted that it was not the Samaritan Pentateuch itself, but *that estimate of the Samaritan Pentateuch which had been founded on the story that Ezra had changed the script*, which afforded this so-called proof. That story has been examined by the rigorous methods of modern historical research, and shewn to be in the highest degree improbable, and to rest on no solid foundation. The Samaritan Pentateuch thus offers no contradiction to the assured results of criticism. The contradiction arises when legend is accepted as history; and the idea that a pre-exilic text of the Pentateuch lies at the base of the Samaritan copies is due to a simple misapprehension of the facts.

But some are of opinion that, if the Ezra legend be given up as unhistorical, the enmity between the Jews and Samaritans would have prevented the latter from accepting additions to the Pentateuch introduced by Jewish scribes. This argument is like the previous one: it does not rest on the Samaritan Pentateuch itself, but on a particular view of the post-exilic history. The first argument assumed too early a date for the change of

[1] See pp. 34, 39.

script; this argument assumes too early a date for the commencement of the Samaritan schism, and treats it as operative from and after the Return.

The schism which is commonly called Samaritan, was in reality not *Samaritan*, but *Jewish*. It was not a separation between *Jews* and *Samaritans*, but between certain seceding Jews and the rest of their brethren in Judah. For these seceding *Jews* the *Samaritan* governor built a temple on Mt Gerizim, which became a centre for the descendants of these Jews, and for those inhabitants of Samaria who joined with them in worship. Nehemiah (432 B.C., or somewhat later) refers to the incident which caused the schism in these words:

> And one of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib the high priest, was son in law to Sanballat the Horonite: therefore I chased him from me (Neh. xiii. 28).

A grandson of the high priest had married the daughter of the Samaritan governor. Though mixed marriages had been forbidden both by Ezra and Nehemiah, many of the Jews had taken wives from among their neighbours. But the contracting parties in this marriage were of such high rank, that some official protest was necessary. Ezekiel's regulations required all priests to take wives from the seed of Israel (Ezek. xliv. 22); and this grandson of the high priest, a possible successor in the high priestly office, was bound to 'take a virgin of his own people to wife' (Lev. xxi. 14). Such was the law which had recently been accepted by the Jewish community (see p. 172). Nehemiah's words 'I chased him from me' probably mean that the offending priest had been forbidden to serve at the altar, and 'separated from the congregation' (Ezr. x. 8).

The Biblical account stops here, but the sequel may be inferred from the narrative in Josephus, the substance of which is as follows:

> Sanballat gave his daughter, whose name was Nicaso, in marriage to Manasseh [the brother of Jaddua (Neh. xii. 11, 22)—a contemporary of Alexander the Great, 333 B.C.]. The Jews com-

manded Manasseh to divorce his wife, or not to approach the altar. Manasseh consulted his father in law Sanballat, who promised to build him a temple, to procure for him the dignity of a high priest, and to make him governor of all the places he [Sanballat] ruled, if he would keep his daughter for his wife. But there was now a great disturbance among the people of Jerusalem, because many of the priests and Levites were entangled in such matches; for they all revolted to Manasseh, and Sanballat gave them money, and land for tillage, and habitations. Sanballat afterwards obtained leave from Alexander to build a temple, and died shortly after its completion. (Jos. *Ant.* xi. 7. 2; 8. 2).

Josephus also says (xi. 8, 7):

If any one were accused by those of Jerusalem of having eaten things common, or of having broken the Sabbath, or of any other crime of the like nature, he fled away to the Shechemites, and said that he was accused unjustly.

It is generally admitted that the story in Josephus has a basis of fact, and that it is a probable continuation of the brief account in Neh. xiii. 28. But its chronology is confused: in making the schismatical priest a brother of Jaddua, and a contemporary of Alexander, it overlooks the fact that a century intervened between Sanballat and the commencement of the Greek Supremacy. Josephus here follows the Jewish tradition, which looks on the period from Nehemiah to Alexander as much shorter than it really was, and takes no notice of the Persian kings immediately before the last Darius, who was conquered by Alexander the Great[1].

[1] According to Josephus, the priest's name was Manasseh; according to Neh. xiii. 28 he was a grandson of Eliashib (a contemporary of Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 1), 444 B.C.). Tradition may have preserved his name correctly; but it is also possible that Jewish enmity may have assigned to this setter up of a schismatical worship the name of the infamous king of Judah, who brought destruction on Jerusalem by making Judah to sin with his idols (2 Kings xxi. 10—16). The change of Moses to Manasseh in Judg. xviii. 30 may have been prompted by the same feeling (see p. 159, note).

The mention of Sanballat by Josephus connects part of his account with the time of Nehemiah's second visit, which was in 432 B.C. Nothing is said about the duration of this visit: it may have lasted some time, and the events of Neh. xiii. 10—31 may have been spread over several years. The Elephantine papyri shew that in 407 B.C. Nehemiah was either dead or had been recalled; for a Persian, Bagohi by name (Bagoses in Josephus), was then governor. The expulsion of Manasseh had by that time been effected; but Sanballat was still alive, though probably of great age, and the temple on Mt Gerizim may have been built about this time[1]. Some are of opinion that Josephus, in stating that the temple was built in Alexander's time, is following a trustworthy tradition, but that he confuses this event with others that occurred at an earlier date. But whether the temple was built *c.* 407 B.C., or *c.* 332 B.C., the schism was consummated *after* the law was accepted by the congregation in Jerusalem. Whether this acceptance was in 444 B.C., the date usually given, or, as some critics prefer, at the time of Nehemiah's second visit in 432 B.C., the secession of discontented Jews took place *after* the events recorded in Neh. viii.—x.

The account in Josephus confirms what seems in itself highly probable, and may be inferred from the narrative in Ezra and Nehemiah, viz. that the enforcement of stringent rules against mixed marriages, and the policy of isolating the Jews from the surrounding peoples, met with determined opposition from an influential section of the community in Jerusalem.

The account in Ezra ix. 1, 2, shews that the priests and Levites had taken foreign wives, and that the 'hand of the princes and rulers' had 'been chief in this trespass'; from x. 18 it appears that four of the high-priestly family, and from *vv.* 6—8 that others who had returned from captivity, were implicated.

[1] The statement of Josephus that Sanballat died shortly after the temple on Mt Gerizim was completed may be taken as supporting this view.

It is certain that this interference with the domestic life of all classes must have caused much ill feeling. The abrupt ending of the book of Ezra seems to shew that the whole story has not been told. Possibly the opposition to Ezra's proposals was so strong that he was obliged to forego further action, and trust that his remonstrance might prevent such marriages in the future. It has also been inferred from the terms of the covenant in Neh. x. 30, where a solemn oath was taken not to give in marriage their sons and daughters to the peoples of the land, that even then it was not considered prudent to enforce in all cases the putting away of foreign wives. But, besides these possibilities, there is clear evidence that the attempt to prevent mixed marriages was not altogether successful; for on his second visit in 432 B.C. Nehemiah found Jews who had married foreign wives, and their children 'could not speak in the Jews' language' (Neh. xiii. 24).

It also appears from Neh. vi. 17—19 that the nobles of Judah were secret, if not open, opponents of Nehemiah. 'They sent many letters unto Tobiah, and the letters of Tobiah came unto them' (*v.* 17). The full significance of this fact is not generally appreciated. One of Nehemiah's chief opponents, an Ammonite, was allied to Eliashib the high priest, who provided him with a great chamber in the courts of the house of God (Neh. xiii. 5, 7). This man of alien race had married a daughter of Shecaniah, and his son had taken the daughter of Meshullam to wife (*v.* 18). He was thus doubly connected by marriage with the community in Jerusalem, was on terms of intimacy with many of them, and apparently aided them in their opposition to Nehemiah. The Biblical account confirms the statement of Josephus, 'There was now a great disturbance among the people of Jerusalem' (*Ant.* xi. 7. 2 quoted above).

The nobles and many of the priests were at variance with Nehemiah, but chiefly on social grounds. They wished to remain in friendly relations with their neighbours; Nehemiah aimed at isolating them from the surrounding nations, in order that they might develope as a religious community on the lines

that had been elaborated by Ezekiel and the men of his school during the captivity. A rupture seemed imminent, and the expulsion of Eliashib's grandson gave the malcontents their opportunity. Under a direct descendant[1] of the high priest, they secured a priesthood, the validity of which none could impugn, and a sanctuary was provided by Sanballat's munificence. The seceding Jews would not wish to magnify the points of difference between themselves and their brethren that remained at Jerusalem; they would justify their action by representing that Nehemiah was insisting on matters which seemed to them of minor importance. They would take with them copies of the Pentateuch, as it had already been received by them when Ezra 'brought the law before the congregation' (Neh. viii. 2).

The question here under discussion is whether the history of the Samaritan Pentateuch affords any evidence that the *Torah* existed in its present form (or approximately so) before the time of Nehemiah. The account of the Samaritan schism given above shews that it does not. What the exact date of the *text* may be, to which the Samaritan Pentateuch bears witness, is a question of textual criticism which need not be discussed here. Two facts, however, may be noted, which, taken together, seem to furnish positive evidence that the copies of the Samaritan Pentateuch represent a text of later date than that of Nehemiah, or of the present Massoretic text.

(1) The characters in which the Samaritan Pentateuch is written are a *late* modification of the old Hebrew writing (Stade, *Hebräische Grammatik*, p. 26, Ryle, *Can. of O.T.*[2], pp. 101 f., Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, p. 39). An inspection of the tables mentioned on p. 278 will shew this. Hence the Samaritan MSS. may be derived from copies which were made much later than Nehemiah's time.

(2) Many of the variations between the Samaritan and

[1] If he was the *eldest* son of Joiada, his title to the high priesthood would have been unimpeachable.

Hebrew texts establish conclusively the priority of the Massoretic recension. The Samaritan text is intelligible as a correction of the Hebrew; very few, if any, instances of the reverse process can be found. Unusual forms and words in the Hebrew text are replaced by more common expressions; the use of הוּא for both genders of the pronoun (see p. 226) has been corrected in the Samaritan text; in Gen. xxxi. 28, Exod. xviii. 18, ii. 4, Gen. xlvi. 3 the abnormal infinitives of the Hebrew text have been replaced by the commoner forms in the Samaritan. For further examples see Art. *Samaritan Pentateuch* in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, Hastings' *DB*, extra vol., pp. 68 f., Gesenius, *de Pentateuchi Samar. origine*...1815, S. Kohn, *de Pent. Samar.* 1865, Bargès, *Notice sur deux fragments d'un Pentateuque Hébreu-Samaritain*, 1865.

It may be added that in recent times the existence of the Samaritan Pentateuch has seldom been brought forward as an argument against critical methods and their results. See *DB*, extra vol., p. 69*a*.

Most readers of the Bible understand the term 'Samaritans' in its N.T. sense, as the name of a religious sect, at variance with the Jews, who maintained that Mt Gerizim was the place where men ought to worship (John iv. 20). In the books of Ezra and Nehemiah frequent reference is made to the adversaries of the Jews, who hindered them in the rebuilding of the Temple, and of the walls. These adversaries are often referred to in commentaries and other works as 'Samaritans.' If the student of this period takes this term in its N.T. sense, he will form a false estimate of the relations between the Jews and their neighbours after the Return. Some, perhaps many, of the inhabitants of Samaria were jealous of the southern community, and hindered them 'by force and power' from strengthening their position. But their opposition was secular and political, rather than religious: as a religious sect the 'Samaritans' were not yet in existence. It is probable that a considerable number of northern Israelites sympathized with the Jews in the

work of rebuilding their Temple, and maintained their ground against the semi-heathen cults of their neighbours through friendly spiritual intercourse with their brethren in Judah. The grounds for this opinion are set forth in the following note.

Note on the situation in Palestine during and after the Exile.

The principal passage in the Old Testament which refers to the inhabitants of the northern kingdom after the fall of Samaria, and the only one where the Samaritans are mentioned by name, is 2 Kings xvii. 20—41.

Though it is said in *v.* 23, 'Israel was carried away out of their own land to Assyria,' it must not be inferred that the deportation of the northern tribes was *complete*. When Nebuchadnezzar carried away the people of Judah, it is expressly said that some remained in the land (2 Kings xxv. 12, 22). This is not said of Israel in 2 Kings xvii.; but there can be no doubt that, in the north as well as in the south, a remnant was left behind[1]. The monumental evidence is decisive[2]; it states the number of the captives as 27,290. The population of Samaria and the neighbourhood far exceeded this number[3], so that in fact the greater part of the inhabitants were left behind.

[1] See 2 Kings xxiii. 15—20, and 2 Chron. xxx. Although the historical value of these passages has been questioned, they may be referred to as embodying a tradition that Israelites remained in the northern kingdom after its fall, and that, of this remnant, some were responsive to the zeal of southern reformers.

[2] The inscriptions are given with a translation in Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O. T.*[2] (Eng. trans.), vol. I. pp. 264, 266. In *Enc. Bibl.*, Art. Samaritans, and other places the number in the text is given. Schrader has 27,280.

[3] The male population of Nablus and the neighbourhood in 1874 exceeded 55,000. Baedeker, *Palaestina und Syrien*, 1875, p. 89. It seems probable that the country was at least as thickly populated when Samaria was taken, as it is now under Turkish rule.

In the same passage it is said (*v.* 24) that men were sent from different places to the *cities* of Samaria to take the place of the Israelite captives. This furnishes indirect evidence of that partial depopulation indicated in the inscriptions. The children of Israel were carried away from the *cities*; the villages and the country were left alone. In the cities the new occupants practised the semi-heathen cults which are described (*v.* 33) in the words 'They feared the LORD, and served their own gods.' This impure worship would spread in the neighbourhood of these cities, and intermarriage with these heathen immigrants would cause some of the Israelite population to adopt it. But it may be assumed that among those left in the land, a remnant remained faithful to the LORD God of Israel. The teaching of the northern prophets was not wholly forgotten, and, as in the days of Ahab and Jezebel, so then there were those who refused to bow the knee to the foreign gods that were worshipped in their midst. Josiah's reform probably elevated the standard of their religious life, and they may have felt the influence of the prophetic teaching in Judah.

The fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple would to a great extent remove the jealousy between north and south: a like visitation had befallen both; as brethren in misfortune, they were inclined to become brethren in worship. That some of the northern nation felt the attraction of Jerusalem as a centre of worship is clear from Jer. xli. 5: fourscore men came from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria to bring oblations to the house of the LORD. It may be assumed with some confidence that this one recorded visit was followed by others paid by the men of the northern kingdom to Jerusalem in the days of her humiliation. The site of the ruined Temple was an occasional meeting-place for Israel and Judah during the exile; the remnant in both countries would feel a common danger from the idolatry which surrounded them. Thus during the captivity, the ties between those who feared God in north and south would become strengthened. When the Jews came back from Babylon, they found a religious community established in Jerusalem, and, as joint worshippers with them, that portion of the northern kingdom which had held aloof from the semi-heathen cults described in 2 Kings xvii.

To speak of these Israelites as Samaritans is misleading: in a *geographical* sense only can they be so named, because they inhabited the district of Samaria. In religion they were in agreement with the remnant of Judah. To what extent they shared a common worship

must be matter of conjecture, but those who had gathered with Judah on the site of the ruined Temple would be willing to help when the time came for the LORD'S house to be built. The Babylonian Jews wished to exclude these Israelites from joining in the work: the 'children of the captivity' (Ezr. iv. 1), with their strict views of preserving the holy seed and a pure worship, regarded these Israelites as defiled by contact with their heathen neighbours, and refused their proffered help. Some such refusal seems to be recorded in Ezr. iv. 1—4; the account, however, is due to the Chronicler, who wrote some time after the event, when the Samaritan schism had been consummated, and reflects the opinion of his own time concerning those who had separated themselves from the worship at Jerusalem. It has already been shewn that the inhabitants of the north were a mixed race, varying from pure Israelite to pure heathen, with many intermediate grades. Is it at all likely (1) that those among them who would describe themselves as of heathen descent would wish to assist in building the Temple, or (2) that those who had Israelite blood in their veins would represent themselves as the offspring of the heathen immigrants[1]? The words of the request in Ezr. iv. 2 are those of a writer in whose eyes the northern people were semi-heathen, as they are regarded in 2 Kings xvii. Such a view seems to be that of a later age, when the alienation between Jew and Samaritan was complete. The opposition described in Ezra iv. 4 f. is attributed to 'the people of the land': this expression should not be taken as including those who were willing to assist in rebuilding the Temple. The seeds of dissent may have been sown by the refusal of the Jewish leaders to allow any but themselves to take part in the work; but it is not necessary to assume that any definite rupture between the northern and southern followers of *Jehovah* took place before the final schism.

In the view of the situation here indicated be considered probable[2], there was little if any antagonism of a religious

[1] See Ezra iv. 2, where 'brought us up hither' means, colonized us in Samaria.

[2] The alternatives seem to be (1) a pessimistic view of the spiritual condition of the northern kingdom which would regard the people as almost entirely given up to semi-heathen forms of religion, or (2) the view adopted by some recent critics who question the historicity of

character between Judah and the faithful remnant in the northern kingdom. When the law which was brought before the congregation by Ezra (Neh. viii.) was received in Judah, it would also be accepted by their like-minded brethren in Samaria. One element of the critical position is that additional legislation was introduced after the Return; and there is nothing in the history of the northern kingdom during this period which weakens the arguments which have already been advanced under Proposition 3.

One more point may be noted:

Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 8. 7, quoted p. 290) says that the centre of worship established at Gerizim became a refuge for Jews who found the standard of the community in Judah too severe. It does not seem improbable that, in order to attract such waverers, the authorities at Shechem might, for a time, keep their copy of the Law identical with that at Jerusalem. Some of the portions of the Priestly code which critics consider as secondary strata affect the position of the priests and their dues, and, as the copies of the Law were at first kept by the priests, they would not be averse to accepting such additions. The variations between the LXX. and Massoretic text in Exod. xxxv.—xl. make it probable that these chapters had not assumed their final form when the LXX. translation was made[1]. The Samaritan version of these chapters agrees in the main with the Hebrew. This seems to indicate that the Samaritan text was influenced by the Hebrew as late as the third century B.C. If so, the supposed

much that is recorded in Ezra—Nehemiah. With the first alternative, the preservation of trustworthy pre-exilic records seems doubtful; the second alternative leaves little room for more than conjecture.

[1] See Kuenen, *Hex.*, p. 73 and § 6. 15, McNeile, *Exodus*, pp. 224—226, and Swete, *Introd. to O.T. in Greek*, pp. 235 f. It is, however, possible that the LXX. translation was made from copies of the Pentateuch which had been for some time in Egypt. Such copies would represent an earlier stage of the text, before the final additions to the Palestinian Pentateuch had been made.

testimony of the Samaritan Pentateuch against critical views vanishes altogether[1].

[1] Besides the works already referred to in the text, the reader may consult *Enc. Bibl.*, Art. Samaritans, IV. pp. 4256 ff., Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, which contains a very full bibliography of the subject, Prof. Kennett, *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, No. 4, History of the Jewish Church from Nebuchadnezzar to Alexander the Great, Bertholet, *Esra und Nehemia*, and *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden*, and Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*. As representing the recent severe criticism referred to, *Enc. Bibl.*, Art. Ezra—Nehemiah, II. pp. 1478 ff., and Torrey, *Ezra Studies* (1910), may be consulted.

APPENDIX IX.

The Christological Argument.

It is well known that at the time of the Christian era, the five books of the Law were regarded as the work of Moses. The Gospels contain passages in which our Lord is represented as adopting the current view, and quoting parts of the Pentateuch as written by Moses. It is held by many that His words must be regarded as an authoritative decision on the authorship of the Pentateuch.

Now before considering this claim, it should be noted that it is not put forward as an *answer* to the critical argument. In effect, it asserts that, whatever arguments are brought forward, however numerous and cogent they may be, it is unnecessary to enter into discussion; argument is superfluous, because the point at issue has been decided by *authority*. A preliminary objection to the exercise of criticism is made: it is therefore necessary to enquire whether the appeal to authority is justified, and the objection can be maintained.

The date and authorship of the Pentateuch can be investigated by the same historical and critical methods as those which have been applied to other books of the Bible, and to various ancient writings. The question whether Moses wrote the Pentateuch or not is surely one of historical fact; it is difficult to see wherein it differs from other literary questions such as those referred to in Part I. § 3, pp. 20, 21. Facts, and inferences

drawn from them, are the determining elements in all such investigations, and the appeal is to the reasoning faculty. Where such an appeal can be made, it does not seem necessary or probable that *authority* should intervene, and limit the exercise of man's reasoning power.

A similar claim has more than once been made, with a view to set aside the results of scientific investigation. A few centuries ago the authority of Scripture was invoked against the theory that the earth moves round the sun; and during the past century, the first chapter of Genesis was often quoted as a conclusive answer to the theories of geologists as to the antiquity of the earth. It is now generally allowed that such appeals to authority rest upon a mistaken view as to the purpose and limits of revealed truth. Where, from the nature of the case, it is possible to proceed by observation and argument, there is no ground for supposing that *authority* will intervene with a revelation. A virtual assertion which could not be challenged, relating to the authorship of the Pentateuch, would be in effect a revelation. If such intervention is not to be expected in the case of an astronomical or geological problem, why should it be expected in the case of a literary problem?

On general grounds, and on the experience gained from the abandonment of previous appeals to Scripture as an authority, it does not seem reasonable to appeal to the New Testament for the solution of literary problems connected with the Old Testament.

The question to be considered may be stated as follows:

Does our Lord, in referring to the Pentateuch, intend to speak with authority in respect of its authorship?

Are His words, recorded in the Gospels, to be interpreted as meaning to teach His own and succeeding generations that Moses wrote the books of the Law? It has already been shewn that there is an antecedent improbability that our Lord would intervene with a revelation about authorship; and an examina-

tion of the discourses recorded in the Gospels tends to increase this improbability. These discourses seem to shew *a reserve in communicating general knowledge*. Weather forecasts are referred to with 'ye say, it will be fair weather' (Matt. xvi. 2). The knowledge already possessed by the people is made the vehicle of instruction; facts are not supplied, but inferences are suggested from those already known. The description of the grain of mustard seed as the least of all seeds (Matt. xiii. 32) is popular, rather than scientific, but it is applied in a parable to convey spiritual truth.

In matters of general knowledge our Lord spoke so as not to come in conflict with the view prevalent among those of His own generation, and it is difficult to see what other course was open to Him. Take for example the particular case under consideration. The Mosaic authorship of the Law was universally and without questioning accepted at the time of our Lord's ministry. The idea of critically examining either documents or history was foreign to the minds of that generation. The time was not yet come for such enquiries. Before audiences such as those described in the Gospels, whether composed of the common people or of the educated class, would it have been in accordance with wisdom, either human or Divine, to say any word with reference to the Scriptures which would impair His influence over His own followers, and give occasion to His adversaries for triumph?

Christ came with the message of Life eternal given Him by the Father (Joh. xii. 49 f.); there was enough in His teaching to arouse opposition, without introducing questions of authorship and criticism. His words were as a winnowing fan which separated the good seed from the husk. But both husk and good seed were from the nation of the Jews: they regarded every jot and tittle of the Law as given through Moses; if He had assigned Deuteronomy to another source, or called in question the Davidic origin of a Psalm, is it not true that even His own disciples would have gone back, and walked no more with Him?

It appears, then, that there are two good reasons for not expecting to find in the N.T. any authoritative pronouncement on literary problems connected with the O.T.:

(1) It is not in accordance with the principles (so far as we are able to test them) of Divine action to disclose truths which are discoverable by the human intellect;

(2) Our Lord exercises reserve in communicating general knowledge.

When the whole situation, as depicted in the Gospels, is carefully considered, there is nothing in the record of our Lord's words which may not be explained on the supposition that, in matters not immediately connected with the message which He received of the Father, His words were chosen, with true wisdom, so as not to put a stumbling-block in the way of the weak.

It is not necessary to discuss here the theological question as to the limits (if any) of Christ's knowledge as Man. If the principles of Divine action have been fairly stated here, then anticipations of critical results are not to be expected in our Lord's words, even though it be held that the whole course of thought and speculation throughout the ages was present to His Omniscient gaze. But it should be remembered that He Himself spoke of the limitation of His knowledge, and that in regard to a matter intimately connected with His own work (Matt. xxiv. 26, Mk. xiii. 32); so that it cannot be irreverent to speak of His knowledge as in some sense limited during His life on earth.

Those, however, who wish to pursue this subject further, may consult Bp Gore's *Bampton Lectures*, especially Lect. VI., on *Man revealed in Christ*. The bishop is of opinion[1] that the truth of Christ's manhood, maintained with emphasis in early

[1] See also Lect. IV., pp. 107 f. Similar opinions are expressed in some of Bp Kaye's notes on the four Orations of Athanasius against the Arians, in his *Account of the Council of Nicæa* (1853), especially those in which he refers to the annotations in the Oxford edition of these orations (*Library of the Fathers*, vol. VIII. 1842–4).

Christian controversies, has been obscured by the scholastic and later dogmatic theologians. Another book which deserves careful study is *An inquiry into the Nature of Our Lord's Knowledge as Man*, by the Rev. W. S. Swayne. The fact that the Bishop of Salisbury assisted in its publication and introduced it by a Preface, is a guarantee of thoroughness and moderation. It has been noticed favourably in the *Church Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1891, by a writer who contributes a carefully reasoned statement of the question. More recently, Dr M°Neile, *Exodus*, Introduction, pp. ix—xi, and in his essay on our Lord's use of the O.T. in *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, pp. 249 f., offers some thoughtful remarks on the same subject. These writers, though expressing themselves in different terms, are in substantial agreement. In some manner, the Divine Omniscience was held in abeyance, and not translated into the sphere of human action.

APPENDIX X.

Archaeology and Criticism.

Men of science may justly claim that in the nineteenth century the bounds of knowledge were pushed forward, and discoveries made of importance equal to those of any preceding era. But in literature the advance has been no less marked. The patience and skill which have furnished the key to the cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria and Babylon, and deciphered the various scripts of ancient Egypt, are worthy of comparison with the most brilliant scientific discoveries. Two at least of the long lost languages of past civilization have been recovered. They have been welcomed with an enthusiasm such as that which stirred the students of the Renaissance when the Greek exiles brought the knowledge of their language to Western Europe. In both periods the enthusiasm was due to religious feeling. The scripts which have been deciphered are the work of nations that came in contact with the chosen people. Little more than sixty years ago, the knowledge of Assyria and Babylon was almost limited to that which could be gathered from the Old Testament records. Now Tiglath-pileser and Sennacherib tell their own story of conquest and oppression; Sargon, mentioned but once in the O.T., is known as the spoiler of Samaria, and the king who carried Israel away captive out of their land. Their inscriptions have been read with interest, because fresh light has been thrown by them on the pages of the Old Testament; just as in the days of the Renaissance, the revived study of Greek was welcomed as a help to the better understanding of the New.

The inscriptions at first deciphered were those of the kings just mentioned; they referred to events recorded in the books of Kings, and supplied additional facts which threw much light on the relations between Israel and Judah and the surrounding nations. They also shewed that the chronology of the period as given in the biblical record needed emendation in some particulars[1]. Critics had pointed out that the chronological system was due to a compiler who edited the historical documents, and that it formed no part of the original narrative; and the inscriptions confirmed their conclusions. Archaeology confirms the truth of the biblical statements respecting Tiglath pileser, Sargon, and Sennacherib—which no critic had challenged: it also confirms the critical view which distinguished between the chronological and historical portions of the books.

The monumental evidence which illustrates either the narrative or the codes of law contained in the Pentateuch differs from that already mentioned in one most important point. The inscriptions of Sargon and Sennacherib refer to particular events in the history of Israel and Judah; the same persons are mentioned, the same events are recorded, both on the monuments and in the Old Testament. Here two independent witnesses agree together; and the monumental evidence has contributed valuable material corroborating and supplementing the biblical accounts. But the inscriptions, so far as they have at present been deciphered, do not supply this confirmatory kind of evidence for the earlier period. The Tel el-Amarna tablets, and excavations in Palestine at Tel el-Hesy, Gezer, and other places[2] illustrate the condition of Canaan before the Hebrew occupation. No reference has, however, been found to persons or events[3] mentioned in the Pentateuch.

[1] See Driver, *Isaiah, his Life and Times*, pp. 35 f., and *Enc. Brit.* (11th ed.), Art. BIBLE (O.T. Chronology).

[2] For details see Driver, *Auth. and Archaeol.* pp. 74, 75, and *The Schweich Lectures on Modern Research as illustrating the Bible* (1908).

[3] The Creation and Flood stories may be passed over for the present; they will be noticed in a subsequent paragraph.

Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, and Moses are all closely connected with Egypt in the biblical account; but nothing has been found on Egyptian monuments that directly concerns any of these persons. One reference to Israel occurs on a monument[1] recounting the victories of Merenptah, 'Israel is desolated, its seed (or fruit, i.e. its crops) is not.' But, as Dr Orr says (*Prob. of O.T.*, p. 421), 'the inscription created more difficulties than it removed.' The reader may consult Driver, *Auth. and Archaeol.*, pp. 62 ff., for various suggested explanations[2].

It appears then, that the monuments do not supply the same kind of information with reference to the patriarchal times and the Exodus, as that which they supply with reference to the period of the kingdoms. They furnish interesting illustrations of the manners and customs of the times to which the events recorded in the Pentateuch are assigned[3]: they do not lift the events themselves to the level of history by witnessing to their occurrence.

The explorer, whether on the banks of the Euphrates or the Nile, in excavating the remains of one period, has found traces of a still earlier civilization. Both in Assyria[4] and Egypt[5], monuments and tombs of a greater antiquity than the 5th millennium B.C. have been found, and these monuments afford evidence that the world was not young when they were raised. Archaeology calls in question the chronology of the Pentateuch, as well as that of the books of Kings; and criticism again shews that the

[1] Discovered by Flinders Petrie in 1896.

[2] Whether the Āperu of certain Egyptian inscriptions are the Hebrews is still an unsettled point. The opinion that they are, which had fallen into disfavour, has recently been revived: see Driver, *Exodus*, pp. xli f.

[3] Life in the East changes very slowly: it must be remembered that *modern travellers* also furnish interesting illustrations of ancient customs.

[4] Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands during the 19th Century*, American excavations at Nuffar, pp. 289—568.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 676—682.

source which contains this chronology is later than that from which the main portion of the narrative is drawn.

The question of interest to the Biblical student is:

Do these archaeological discoveries of the 19th century, and especially of the last thirty years, affect the conclusions of criticism with reference to the date and authorship of the Pentateuch[1]*?*

The answer to this question is in the negative. It has often been said that archaeological discoveries have proved the conclusions reached by critics to be untenable, but when the evidence brought forward in support of this general statement is examined in detail, it is found to be either irrelevant, or insufficient.

Archaeologists often misapprehend the arguments used by critics: they consequently refute arguments which critics do *not* use, leaving untouched the much stronger arguments which they do use. Examples of this will appear in the sequel. It must also be remembered that when an inscription has been deciphered, other persons may be quite as well able as archaeologists to form an opinion respecting the historical inferences which may be legitimately drawn from it. For examples of inferences that are *not* legitimate see G. B. Gray, *Expositor*, May, 1898, pp. 340 ff.

Comparison is drawn between the objective facts recorded on the monuments, and the subjective theories of literary analysis. The suggested inference is obvious; but it will be seen on examination that questionable and even illogical inferences may be drawn from monumental facts, and that the so-called critical fancies rest on a solid basis of objective facts. A few remarks on some recent archaeological discoveries are added by way of illustrating the foregoing statements.

[1] The question may be stated so as to include criticism of the O.T. generally; here it must be limited, as in the text, to the Pentateuch.

The Tel el-Amarna Tablets.

These tablets were discovered in 1887 on the eastern bank of the Nile, about 170 miles S. of Cairo[1]. The letters and documents on these tablets are written in the cuneiform character; and they shew that, before the children of Israel settled in Canaan, the cuneiform script of Babylonia and its language were used in Palestine, and also by the Egyptians in their correspondence with their Asiatic dependencies. This discovery, it was asserted, overthrew the conclusions of criticism, which were based on an assumption that the art of writing was of later date than the time of Moses. Modern critics do not rest their arguments on any assumption about the qualifications of Moses as a scribe. They are aware that at the time of Moses' birth writing was freely practised in Egypt, and that the country to which he led the Israelites held communication with its neighbours in the Babylonian script. Moses *could* have written a book as long as or longer than the Pentateuch. The question of modern criticism is whether the internal evidence supplied by the existing Pentateuch justifies the assumption that he *did* write it. On this point archaeology has nothing to contribute by way of either support or denial.

The Creation and Deluge Tablets.

The stories of the Creation and Deluge discovered by George Smith and translated by him in 1876 in his *Chaldaean Genesis* have perhaps attracted the attention of Bible readers more than any other archaeological discovery. Interesting as they are, they do not bear directly on the issues raised by Pentateuch criticism. The enormous difference between the gross polytheism of the Babylonian and the pure monotheism of the Biblical story is evident, even on the most cursory inspection of

[1] For further information, reference may be made to Petrie, *Egypt and Syria from the Tel el-Amarna letters* (1898), Driver, *Schweich Lectures*, pp. 32 f., and C. J. Ball, *Light from the East*, pp. 86 f.

both accounts, and suggests a considerable interval of time between them. The composite character of the Flood narrative has been shewn on pp. 75—81; and an examination of the Deluge tablets shews that both sources (J and P) exhibit parallels with the Babylonian account. This seems to be natural; for, as the Tel el-Amarna tablets shew, Babylonian influence in Palestine may be traced back to a period before the Israelites took possession of the land. Dr Orr, *Prob. of the O.T.*, p. 405, is inclined to attach importance to this fact; he says:

> The parallel with the Babylonian story requires for its completeness *both* the Elohistic and the Jehovistic narratives in Genesis —a fact with important bearings on the critical analysis.

These important bearings are not specified; he refers to p. 348 where the same fact has been stated with illustrations:

> Since the discovery of the Babylonian account of the deluge, it is recognized that both writers drew from very old sources, and, moreover, that it needs *both* J and P to yield the complete parallel to the old Chaldean version. P, *e.g.*, in Genesis gives the measurements of the ark, but lacks the sending out of the birds—an essential feature in the Babylonian story. J has the birds, and also the sacrifice of Noah, which P, again, wants.

All the incidents recorded only by J and only by P are given in the examination of the Flood narrative already referred to (see pp. 79, 80). There are four of each; comparing them with the passage just quoted, it will be seen that Dr Orr has there produced *all* the evidence in favour of his statement 'that it needs *both* J and P to yield the complete parallel to the old Chaldean version.' That evidence consists of three facts,

(1) P gives the measurements of the ark (not in J),
(2) J records the sending out of the birds (not in P),
(3) J records the sacrifice of Noah (not in P).

With respect to these facts it may be noted:

(1) P's measurements of the ark are entirely different from

those in the Babylonian account; it is extremely doubtful whether he is here influenced by that account. It has been noticed as one of P's characteristics, that arithmetical details are often supplied by him: he has done so on more than one occasion in the course of this narrative (see Gen. vii. 20, and the reff. on p. 79).

(2) J's account of the birds, though evidently derived (but indirectly) from a Babylonian source, is very different from what is found there. Three birds are mentioned on the Deluge tablets; the dove, the swallow, and the raven. One of these is omitted, and the order in which the other two are sent out is changed. The argument amounts to nothing: it does not shew that P, when complete, did not contain this incident: if it did, is it likely that the compiler would have given an incident of this kind in duplicate?

(3) A sufficient reason is given (p. 80) for the omission of Noah's sacrifice by P.

With these explanations, it is difficult to see how the facts to which Dr Orr directs attention have any bearing on the literary criticism which endeavours to separate the accounts of J and P. And he has not indicated the important bearings which, in his opinion, these facts have on the critical analysis. The third fact may be put aside; it is satisfactorily accounted for; the others are so slight and uncertain that no inference of any value can be based on them. Both J and P have preserved elements of the Babylonian legend: that two incidents are not found in both is not surprising, seeing that both omit much of the Babylonian version.

The argument which Prof. Sayce has drawn from a comparison of the Biblical and Babylonian accounts (*EHH* p. 126, and elsewhere) must be stated in his own words. He observes that the Babylonian poet agrees 'not with the Elohist or with the Jahvist alone, but with the supposed combination of their two documents as we now find it in the book of Genesis[1].' He

[1] It may be noted that the Professor's observation resembles that made by Dr Orr, which has been considered in the text.

proceeds to argue: 'If the documentary hypothesis were right, there would be only two ways of accounting for this fact. Either the Babylonian poet had before him the present "redacted" text of Genesis, or else the Elohist and Jahvist must have copied the Babylonian story upon the mutual understanding that the one should insert what the other omitted. There is no third alternative.'

Now of the two alternatives here proposed, the first obviously cannot be accepted. The Babylonian story is by common consent older than the sources J and P, which have been combined in the Biblical account. The second alternative may also be dismissed. The two sources J and P are sufficiently remote in origin to exclude the idea of any 'mutual understanding': the elements of the Babylonian story, so far as they have been preserved in the Biblical narrative, have reached their present form after so long a period of naturalization in Palestine, that the one cannot be regarded as a 'copy' of the other. Indeed, it is difficult to see how this alternative can follow the assumption (though made only for the purpose of the argument) 'If the documentary hypothesis were right.'

Is there, then, nothing else in place of these two impossible alternatives? The reader has the facts before him in the text; he may put the simple explanation of them there suggested as a third, and it may be maintained that it is a reasonable alternative. The Babylonian story was slowly transformed in the land of Canaan: that it did not come within the knowledge of J and P in exactly the same form is (assuming that there were two such writers) certain; and such an assumption sufficiently explains the resemblances to the Babylonian record which can be traced in *both* elements of the Flood narrative in the book of Genesis.

The literary criticism of the Biblical account is not affected by the evidence of the monuments; Sayce's attempt to use that evidence for the purpose of discrediting it has been fully examined by Gray, *Expositor*, May 1898, pp 347 f.; Bennett, *Contemporary Review*, April 1906, pp. 526 f.: cf. Driver, *Addenda*, *Genesis*, p. xxv.

The code of Ḥammurabi.

This code of laws was discovered at Susa (Shushan the palace, Neh. i. 1, Esth. i. 5, Dan. viii. 2) in 1901–2 by J. de Morgan. The whole inscription consisted of 49 columns, five of which have been erased. Fragments of these five columns have been preserved in copies made by Assyrian scribes. The 49 columns contain 282 sections, some of which are closely parallel with enactments in the Biblical codes. The contrasts are, however, equally marked. The date of the code is probably *c.* 2100 B.C., so that it was nearly a thousand years old when the Israelites took possession of Canaan.

The interesting question for Biblical students is how far Babylonian influence can be traced in the codes of the Pentateuch. This question cannot be answered in a few words, or even in a few pages: the code of Ḥammurabi may be based on older laws common to many Semitic peoples, and parallels even of a striking character must not be taken as necessarily indicating Babylonian influence on the laws of Israel. And further, the question of Babylonian influence has little to do with determining the dates of the Pentateuch codes. Copies of Ḥammurabi's code, either complete or partial, were made for a long time after it was first cut on the stone which was discovered at Susa. One made 1500 years later, which has been deciphered, shews but slight variations from the original. The Israelites may, through these copies, have obtained information about old Babylonian law at any period of their career. The existence of this ancient inscription confirms what the Tel el-Amarna tablets proved, that the cuneiform script was used in very early times, and therefore that Moses *could* have written the Pentateuchal codes; but it leaves the question whether he *did* write them where it was before. If any critic has denied that a legal code was possible before the period of the Jewish kings, his criticism would, of course, be 'shattered' by de Morgan's discovery. But modern critics do

not make any such denial[1]; they maintain that the dates of the Pentateuch codes must be determined by the evidence derived from a study of the codes, and from a comparison of the codes with the history. Hebrew laws could have been borrowed from Ḥammurabi's code at any period, not only in the time of Moses: the chief parallels are with the Book of the Covenant, which is *not* put by critics after the prophets; with the ceremonial law of P, which is put by them later, there are no parallels. The code of Ḥammurabi contributes nothing towards fixing the dates of the Pentateuch codes, and does not contradict modern critical conclusions as to the chronological sequence of those codes.

The expedition recorded in Gen. xiv.

The testimony of the monuments to the events recorded in this remarkable chapter has been very differently estimated by archaeologists. A brief statement of the facts will help the reader to understand why this variety of opinion exists.

The first part of the chapter (*vv.* 1—11) contains an account of a campaign of four kings against five in the vale of Siddim (a name peculiar to this narrative, and of uncertain meaning, but here identified with the Dead Sea). Of the names mentioned in *v.* 1:

(1) *Amraphel* is generally accepted as a variant, or corrupted form, of Ḥammurabi, the name of the sixth king of the first Babylonian dynasty, and author of the code already referred to. The identification is questioned, and even rejected by some Assyriologists; and it is difficult to account for the *l* at the end of the word.

(2) *Arioch*[2], *king of Ellasar.* Probably the same as

[1] The idea that they do so is one of the misapprehensions referred to on p. 308: the idea that the code of Ḥammurabi contradicts modern critical conclusions is another.

[2] On these names, see *Enc. Brit.* (11th ed.) Art. ABRAHAM, i. 71 *b*, and the note of W. H. Bennett, Century Bible, *Genesis*, p. 186.

Eriagu, the Sumerian equivalent of *Arad-Sin*, a king of Larsa, whose name occurs on several inscriptions.

(3) *Chedorlaomer*, *king of Elam*. Chedorlaomer is undoubtedly a genuine Elamite name, and probably means 'servant of Lagomer' a known Elamite deity. Some archaeologists are of opinion that this name has been found on the tablets referred to below, but the identification is questioned.

(4) *Tidal*, *king of Goiim* (*nations*, A.V.). *Tudchula*, son of Gaz— (the inscription is illegible here), is found on one of the three inscriptions deciphered by Mr Pinches, referred to in the next paragraph.

In 1892 three tablets were brought to light on which the names *Kudur-Lagamar* or Chedorlaomer, *Eriaku* or Arioch, and *Tudkhal* or Tidal, were deciphered by Mr Pinches. The tablets are mutilated, and the context of the passages so broken that it is difficult to extract from them any definite statement. They are of late date, not earlier than the fourth century B.C.

In 1896, a letter of Ḥammurabi to Sin-idinam was published by Father Scheil in which, according to his decipherment, 'the day (of the defeat) of Kudurlagamar' occurs. If all these decipherments are correct, there is undoubtedly strong evidence to shew that the names in Gen. xiv. 1 rest on a solid basis of historical fact. But everyone of them has been challenged. King's examination of Scheil's version is conclusive[1]. 'The day (of the defeat) of Kudurlagamar' is shewn by him to rest upon faulty decipherment: the cuneiform characters should be read 'the troops under the command of Inuḥsamar,' an official whose name is found on another tablet. He also discusses the symbols which have been read as Chedorlaomer on the three tablets mentioned above. His argument on this point will help the reader to judge for himself, and will also illustrate the difficulties arising from the well established fact, that the cuneiform symbols are 'polyphonous,' e.g. one symbol may be

[1] L. W. King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Ḥammurabi*, pp. XXIX—XLIX. His translation of the letter is on p. XXXVI.

read as *lul*, *paḥ*, or *nar*, and many others may represent two or more different sounds.

The names on the tablets may be transliterated thus:

(1) KU-KU-KU-MAL
(2) KU-KU-KU-KU-MAL
(3) KU-KU-KU-KU (the rest is illegible)

On these names Mr King remarks[1]: 'Assuming that (3) is to be restored from (2), which is by no means certain, we get two forms of the name, one beginning with KU written three times, the other with it written four times. As the symbol rendered KU has also the value *dur*, and *Kudur* is a well known component of Elamite names, the second symbol in each name is probably to be transliterated *dur*, so that we can reduce the names to *Ku-dur-ku-mal* and *Ku-dur-ku-ku-mal*. In order to get the names more like that of Chedorlaomer, it was suggested by Mr Pinches that the third symbol had the value *lag* and the names were transliterated by him as *Ku-dur-lag-mal* and *Ku-dur-lag-gu-mal*, the former being described as "defectively written." There is little justification for assigning the new value *lag* to the symbol transliterated as *ku*; and though Ku-dur-ku-ku-mal is styled a king of Elam [probably to be restored on one of the tablets where some of the symbols for Elam are obliterated], there is no reason for supposing he was a contemporary of Ḥammurabi. He might have occupied the throne at any period before the fourth century B.C. Although Chedorlaomer's name has not yet been identified in any Babylonian inscription, there is no reason at all why it should not be found in one.'

Mr King also questions the identity of *Eri-aku* and *Tudkhal* with the Arioch and Tidal of *v.* 1; he points out that there is no indication on the tablets that either of these names is that of a kingly person[2].

[1] *Op. cit.* p. LIV.

[2] The name Arioch is also found in Dan. ii. 14, and in the apocryphal book of Judith (i. 6).

The archaeological evidence bearing on this chapter is not so conclusive as it has been represented. In spite of uncertainties, the historical character of the names of the four kings from the East need not be doubted: it is quite possible that they may one day be satisfactorily identified on some inscription not at present known as those of kings reigning over the countries[1] mentioned in *v.* 1. What is known about the relations between these countries about the end of the third millennium B.C. (approximately the time of Abraham) shews indeed that *an* expedition such as that described in *vv.* 1—11 is historically possible; but that is all.

For, in the opinion of critics, the narrative contains so many improbable incidents that, *as it is told in Genesis*, it cannot be regarded as resting on a solid foundation of historical fact. The grounds of this opinion cannot be discussed here: Prof. Nöldeke stated them very forcibly in *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des alten Testaments*, 1869, pp. 156—172; they are given in Driver's *Genesis*, pp. 171 f. (cf. *Addenda* pp. XXXIV f., XLVIII f.), in Skinner, *Genesis*, *I. C. C.*, pp. 273 f., and in the commentary in this series. Prof. Sayce (*Monument facts and higher critical fancies*, p. 54) describes Prof. Nöldeke's criticism inaccurately: he attributes to Nöldeke arguments which he did *not* use, and omits the chief arguments which Nöldeke actually did use (see Driver's *Addenda*, as quoted above, and Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 276 note *: see also the article by G. B. Gray in the *Expositor*, May 1898, pp. 342—6; S. A. Cook, *Expos.*, June 1906, p. 538: these writers shew conclusively that archaeology has *not* established the historical character of the expedition narrated in Gen. xiv.). Dr Orr is more exact; he states that the account in Gen. xiv. 'has now, as respects its historical framework, been singularly confirmed' (*Prob. of O.T.*, p. 411). 'Historical framework' is rather a vague expression; if it be taken in a

[1] It does not, however, follow that, because a given *person* is historical, therefore a particular *action* or *exploit* attributed to him is historical likewise. This obvious point of historical criticism is, in many cases, not at all realised. Cp. reff. in note 2 on p. 314.

limited sense his statement has been allowed on p. 317; but if it be understood to include Abraham's pursuit and rescue of Lot, and the *details* of the campaign in general, then it must be acknowledged that archaeology has not confirmed these elements of the narrative, as, indeed, Dr Orr admits (p. 412). That *a* Babylonian expedition could at this time have been led to Palestine is quite possible: this was not denied by Nöldeke, and is shewn by the inscriptions to have been possible; but that *this particular expedition as described in Genesis* was led to Palestine has not been shewn by archaeology, and is doubted by many critics on account of the improbability of many of the details; this improbability archaeology has done nothing to remove.

The foregoing instances of archaeological research sufficiently illustrate the statements made on p. 308. The supposed antagonism between literary criticism and archaeology does not exist; it is due to a misapprehension of facts: archaeology has proved no more than critics themselves accept; it has not overthrown any of the main critical positions, such as the existence of different sources in the Pentateuch, and the chronological sequence of the three codes of law. It is not denied that Moses could have written a document containing both laws and narrative: what is denied is that he wrote the laws and narrative which are now found in the Pentateuch; and this, not because of any *a priori* dogma that writing was unknown to him, or that laws could not have been drawn up by him, but because of the evidence afforded by the Pentateuch itself that it is the work of many men and many times.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES AND REMARKS.

Note on the use of the cuneiform script.

In the *J. Th. S.*, July 1910, pp. 542 f., Dr Cowley puts forward the theory that all Hebrew literature before the date of the Moabite stone was written in the cuneiform character, and that this script continued to be employed by the Israelites in making copies of their Law until the exile. He also remarks that if the tradition assigning the change of script to Ezra be accepted as resting on a basis of historical fact, the alphabetical writing introduced by him would be like the Assyrian Aramaic found on the tablets recently discovered by the American exploring expedition, and described by Prof. Clay in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in memory of W. R. Harper*, i. 287 ff. Similar characters are found on the Egyptian papyri edited by Sayce and Cowley, *Aramaic papyri discovered at Assouan*, 1906; and by Sachau, *Drei Aramäische Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine*, 1907. From these characters the modern Hebrew square character now in use has been derived.

Now if a development on these lines be assumed, it follows that the Israelites at no time possessed copies of the Law in the Phoenician script, but transliterated them in Ezra's time (458 B.C.) from cuneiform into an Aramaic script, the parent of the present square character. Not only is this a mere hypothesis, with no tangible evidence to support it, but, if it be adopted, it becomes difficult to account for the existence of the Samaritan Pentateuch as it is represented in the MSS. The characters there found, and those copied from them in modern printed books, are a later form of the Phoenician script. The use of

these characters can be explained on the supposition that an alphabet of the Phoenician type was employed by the Israelites for transcribing their sacred books at the time of the Samaritan schism. The existence of such an alphabet in Palestine is established by the Moabite stone (*c.* 850 B.C.), and the Siloam inscription assigned to the time of Hezekiah (*c.* 700 B.C.)[1]. Cowley suggests that the Israelites may have regarded this script with suspicion, as coming from a heathen source, and may have continued to use cuneiform for transcribing their Scriptures. But then it does not seem probable that the Samaritans, on separating from the Jews, would have changed the script which up to that time had been used for copying the Law; and it is still less probable that they would have adopted an alphabet which had been regarded as unfit for sacred purposes.

Prof. Naville is of opinion that the Babylonian *language*, as well as the cuneiform script, was employed by the Israelites in early times for their '*written* language, that of official correspondence, legislature, and literature' (p. 41). In a memoir presented to the French Academy[2], he has interpreted the Biblical account of the discovery of the Law in king Josiah's time by reference to the Egyptian custom of placing documents under the feet of statues, and in the foundation walls of temples. He supposes that 'the book of the Law' found by Hilkiah was a document 'immured in a foundation wall; the depositing of the book must therefore go back to the building of the Temple, that is to say, to the time of Solomon.' In his opinion, Hilkiah was unable to read the book, because it was in a script no longer in use in the time of Josiah, but Shaphan the scribe knew cuneiform writing, and read the book to the king. From this interpretation of the account in 2 Kings xxii., he infers that

[1] Also by the Heb. inscriptions found at Samaria dating from *c.* 850 B.C. (See *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, April 1911.)

[2] This memoir has been translated into English and published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge under the title *The discovery of the Book of the Law under King Josiah*, 1911.

'the ancient books of the Hebrews, and particularly the Pentateuch, must to a great extent have been drawn up in Babylonian or Assyrian, and written in cuneiform characters.'

The Professor is further of opinion that the Phoenician character began to supplant the cuneiform in the reign of Solomon, when Hiram king of Tyre supplied materials and workmen for building the Temple. The relations between the Phoenicians and the Hebrews were at that time very close, and Prof. Naville supposes that Phoenician then became the national script.

But these opinions are of a most hypothetical character. There is nothing in 2 Kings xxii. to shew that Hilkiah could not read the script, or to imply or suggest that the document found was 'immured in a foundation wall.' The Tel el-Amarna tablets shew that the cuneiform script was known in Palestine before the Israelites entered into possession. It was used in official correspondence; but there is no evidence that the Canaanites habitually employed it, or that the Israelites borrowed it from them[1]. As regards monumental evidence the period from the Tel el-Amarna tablets, or from those discovered at Taanach[2] in 1903–4 (before the Israelite immigration, though perhaps of slightly later date than those at Tel el-Amarna) to the Moabite stone (*c.* 850 B.C.) is a blank. The absence of any written Hebrew before the time of Mesha proves nothing, for there is also an absence of any cuneiform in Israel before that time. The use of the Phoenician script among the Hebrews is established by the Siloam inscription, assigned to the time of Hezekiah (*c.* 700 B.C.[3]). The script on the Moabite stone, and its language, are sufficiently marked in character to suggest that both must have had a previous history, and that earlier

[1] On the contrary, the 'Canaanite glosses' attached to many of the Babylonian words on the Tel el-Amarna tablets shew that the language of the people was Canaanite, and closely allied to Phoenician and Hebrew.

[2] For details, see Driver, *The Schweich Lectures*, 1908, pp. 10, 82.

[3] See p. 320, with n. 1.

specimens may await discovery. The Song of Deborah may with probability be assigned to the period of the deliverance which it commemorates. Although the text is in some places corrupt, its remarkably fine style shews that the Hebrew language had already attained to a high stage of development, which again suggests a previous history. These facts must be taken into account, when the beginnings of the Hebrew language are under discussion.

Until further excavations throw more light on the ancient history of Israel, the use of the cuneiform script by the Israelites must be regarded as 'not proven.' But even if it were true that there is an original in the language and script of Babylonia behind part of the Hebrew Scriptures, the labour of the critic would still be necessary to determine the extent and character of that original. If Naville's opinion about the use of cuneiform were established, his conclusions would not necessarily follow. He refers to Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*, p. 263, as holding an opinion similar to his own with respect to the use of the cuneiform script. But Jeremias, with others who lay emphasis on Babylonian influence in Palestine, adheres to the critical view of the Pentateuch associated with Wellhausen's name. The hypothesis that portions of the Hebrew Scriptures were originally written in Babylonian cuneiform, even if further discoveries shew that it is probable, will not, as some who introduce this hypothesis to the notice of English readers seem to imagine, overthrow the literary and historical conclusions of modern criticism. The different styles in the Pentateuch—P and D, each so different from JE—would still have to be accounted for. The duplicate narratives, and other indications of diversity of authorship, would still remain; and the evidence that the codes of law in the Pentateuch date from different periods of the history would still retain its cogency. Other critical arguments for assigning D to a late period of the monarchy and considering P as post-exilic would remain as weighty as before.

Note to p. 30, *line* 8.

Some of the passages from Eichhorn referred to here and on p. 19 are translated into English in Briggs, *SHS*, pp. 280, 281.

Addition to the note on pp. 46, 47.

The reader may refer to two interesting articles on the LXX. of 1 Kings viii. 53*b*; one by Prof. Burkitt in *J. Th. S.*, April 1909, pp. 439 ff., and the other by H. St J. Thackeray in the same Journal, July 1910, pp. 518 ff. He will find in both suggestions for an amended translation, and will also be able to estimate the difficulty of attempting to restore the original Heb. which underlies the LXX. version.

Note to p. 86, *line* 8.

Deut. xxxi. 14—23 has been long recognized as not forming part of D. For reference to the critics who have discussed the passage, and for the grounds on which it is held not to be the work of the Deuteronomic author of the context in which it is now embedded, see Driver, *Deut. I. C. C.*, pp. 337 f.

Note to p. 157.

The reader who has followed the argument on pp. 154—157 will understand why the passage in Deut. xviii. 2, 'And they shall have no inheritance among their brethren: the LORD is their inheritance, as he hath spoken unto them,' cannot be regarded as referring to Num. xviii. 20. The reference in Deut. is to the *whole* tribe; the reference in Num. xviii. 20 is to the priests only. The *non*-priestly members of the tribe (the 'Levites' in P's sense) are provided for in Num. xviii. 21—24 by having the tithe assigned to them—an arrangement of which the writer of Deut. knows nothing. Cf. Driver, *Deut.*, p. 124.

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